OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXVIII.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED J. HEER
1919

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Joshua Reed Giddings. By Byron E. Long	1
The Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands. By Wilbur H. Siebert	48
Charles Dickens in Ohio in 1842. By Hewson L. Peeke	72
Ohio's German-Language Press and the War. By Carl Wittke	82
Ohio State Library Centennial	96
Ohio (Poem). By J. J. Bliss	115
Editorialana. By E. O. Randall	118
Salmon Portland Chase. By Arthur Meier Schlesinger	119
The Ulrich Group of Mounds. By Truman B. Mills	162
Some Notes on Ohio Historiography. By Clarence E. Carter	175
Address at Marietta, Ohio, 1858. By Thomas Ewing	186
Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War. By Martha L. Edwards	208
Ohio Battle Flags	225
Editorialana. By E. O. Randall	251
High Lights in Ohio Literature. By Emilius O. Randall	255
Siege of Fort Meigs	280
Ohio in the War of 1812	286
Birthplace of John Brough	369
Lutheranism in Perry County, Ohio. By Prof. C. L. Martzolff	375
Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society	396
Index to Volume XXVIII	421

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS

A CHAMPION OF POLITICAL FREEDOM.

BY BYRON R. LONG.

There never was a time perhaps when there was less need for furnishing material for readers than just now. The world-war has been productive of thot and action such as has enlisted thousands of good writers who are keeping record of incidents and are setting down impressions which are moving the souls of men as profoundly as any that human life has experienced.

The excuse for this wrting differs little from that given for any of similar nature. Namely, that men are apt to forget the causes which lie beneath the structure of national life and the circumstances that have led to the struggle waged in defence of and in perpetuation of that life. Furthermore, there has been no more fitting time to recall the incidents of seventy-five years ago that led up to the conflict which resulted in the abolition of slavery as the chief feature of the achievement of a nation in a generation.

The recollection of events of that time bring before the mind's-eye the actors on the stage in those wonderful, decisive days. The question of human slavery was the burning question with Americans and it received attention from many angles of vision. Strong men withstood one another in the arena of debate for and against this evil that struck at the vitals, both of the enslaved and the enslavers.

Horace Greeley in the valuable contribution made by him to this study under the title of "Slavery Before the Revolution" says:

"The first man who ever imbibed or conceived the fatal delusion that it was more advantageous to him or to any human being to procure whatever his necessities or his appetites required by address and scheming than by honest work — by the unrequited rather than the fairly and faithfully recompensed toil of his fellow creature — was in essence and in heart, a slave holder and only waited opportunity to become one in deed and in practice. And this single truth operating upon the infinite variety of human capacity and culture suffices to account for the universality of slave-holding in the anti-Christian age, for its tenacity of life, and for the extreme difficulty of even its partial eradication. The ancients, while they apprehended perhaps adequately the bitterness of bondage which many of them had experienced do not seem to have perceived so vividly the corresponding evil of slave-holding. They saw the end of the chain which encircled the ankles of the bond-man, they do not seem to have so clearly perceived that the other lay heavily across the throat of his sleeping master. They do not seem to have perceived that the slave-holding relation effected an equal discount on the value of the master as the slave-held relation affected on the slave."

This observation of Mr. Greeley so full of suggested wisdom did not get its due measure of just and considerate credence even at that late date in the history of the monstrous traffic. So meager, in fact, was the feeling about it that even when the emancipation proclamation got utterance and later, when its substance got woven as a constituent part into the foundation document of our national government, slavery had not been driven from our midst save in a nominal way.

Sixty years have gone by and we are troubled with it yet. The seed of human slavery was a strong one. The terrible war that wages on the borders of France and Belgium in this year 1918 is being waged because this weed still grows in human gardens. Human bondage still lives—a mighty force in the world, which tho no longer politically legalized as in a former age is still a terrible ghost, begetting fear.

History repeats itself, but usually on a bigger scale. When one analyzes the epic making events in the story of human progress it is discovered that lying back of these events are motives

and forces and struggles that are born of the desire in man to be free. Freedom is the natural cry of the human wherever he asserts himself. In course of human progress the individual finds himself a part of the community motived by the same spirit, and movement under the spell of this spirit brings the dawn of a day when the larger conception of freedom and liberty prevails. This desire for freedom is for others as well as for oneself. It becomes an atmosphere which all breathe. In this sense of freedom human relations come to occupy a large place and beget larger but modified activities which the mere thot of one's own interest fails to contemplate. When freedom is considered in this light it appears different from what it does when one thinks of himself as a solitary actor on the stage of endeavor and a solitary beneficiary of the world's goods.

The struggle for American independence and the struggle for the enlargement and perpetuation of that independence are instances of the expanding comprehensive character of the thot and reach of freedom which the new world had come to entertain. Not only must this new land be a home for one race with freedom's right; but for all races residing within its borders. Political and religious liberty must be a birthright of all. The soil of America allows no other. The sacrifice of blood and toil and property could be made for this and nothing short of this. Freedom is a very big term, it is in fact that last term of the moral and spiritual ascending series. In spiritual phrasing the greatest of all teachers taught that freedom comes only with the knowledge of the truth. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth will make you free." Such truth has to do with relations of life rather than with axioms.

Our country has gone to war again and the big thot in the mind of the nation on entering the war is that of freedom for all men. Millions of men have been in training in the conflict across the ocean and the whole purpose of this training has been that these men should be equipped to do the utmost that liberty may prevail everywhere, until the smallest nation without army or navy or battlements or any of the long established methods of warfare may be perfectly safe to carry on the arts of peace. Our fathers of the Revolution and of the Rebellion

were not able to see the outcome of the struggles in which they took part, but the same principle was operating then as is operating now. One of our failures is that we do not live and act with sufficient prophetic faith and insight. Most of us work for immediate results and feel that when these are reached that we have done our bit, but no one has done his best till he has wrought with prophetic outlook on his deed and the fruit of it. We all remember Browning's words:

> "Grow old along with me,
> The best is yet to be—
> The last of life—for which the first was made.
> Our times are in his hand
> Who said the whole I planned.
> Trust God, see all nor be afraid."

This should be one's faith even unto death. By this route alone can big results come either here or there. By this way alone we shall know the truth and by it be made free and delegated with freeing power. Our nation today seems to be hungering not only for larger freedom for itself but for power and grace to help others secure freedom for themselves that in the end the whole world may be free.

It is fitting that at a time like this, we revive a little Ohio history that was made by a few men and women stirred with a passion to do all they could to bring about the emancipation of a race hitherto the victim of political bondage.

Into the American family quarrel of the first half of the nineteenth century stepped a number of men who proved big men for their day and who in the performance of their duties created a fund of indebtedness which the generations since have not been able to pay, and only as the generation now active plays its part well, will it honor the heroic men of these tragic years of struggle in halls of congress and on the battle-fields of the Southland.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give all the details of a life story, altho such a story would be a most impressive one and has never been told in the pages of this periodical.

A brief reveiw of this life is all that will be attempted, the

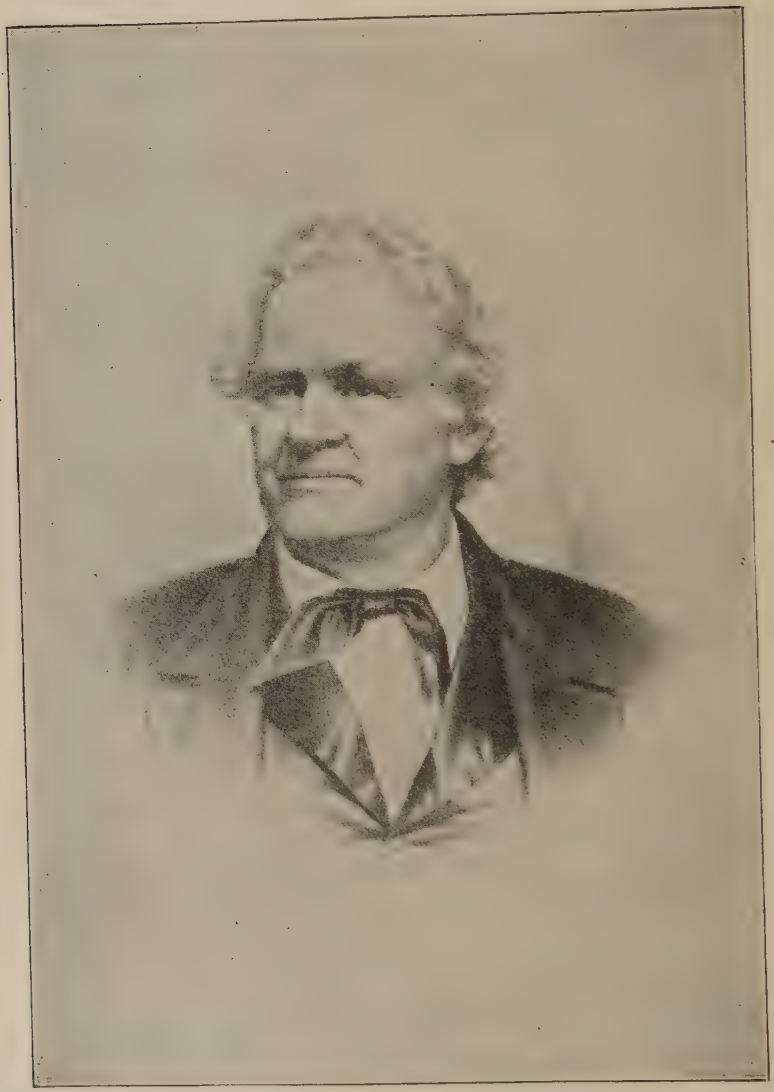
main purpose being to present some of his cooperation and correspondence with the noted men of his time.

To say of the period mentioned that it witnessed the growth of men who were giants is not exaggerating. There were giant tasks to be performed and it took giant men to perform them. Joshua R. Giddings was one of the sterling, rough-hewn characters who came to America in the period of her greatest crisis when the staunchness of her foundation was tested to the uttermost. A writer in the Cincinnati Enquirer some time in 1905 said of Joshua R. Giddings that "No man had as much to do with the precipitation of the Civil War as had he. Due to the fact that no other man so big and capable felt that the only means of wiping out the curse of slavery depended upon the strong arm of government enlisted in war. He was opposed to the Mexican War because he felt that it was waged in the interest of slavery. He was in favor of the Civil War because he saw in it the only means for abolishing slavery, and when once he had set his hand to the plow there was no turning back until the mighty task was completed."

Two hundred years before J. R. Giddings reached the zenith of his fame his ancestors emigrated from England, settling in the state of Massachusetts. Seventy-five years later his great-grandfather removed to Connecticut; near the close of the eighteenth century his father left Connecticut, expecting to settle in Wyoming Valley, but not being pleased with the surroundings, he took his family to a more congenial spot in the state of Pennsylvania. At Athens in this state Joshua was born. In the same year the family removed to Canandaigua County. Here they remained till the son was eleven years of age, when they moved further westward and took up residence in Ashtabula County, Ohio.

At that time the country was in a wilderness state. Hard and continuous labor was necessary to put it in habitable shape, such as made possible any comforts of civilized life. Indians were close neighbors, and wild beasts were on every hand. Very few white people had as yet found their way so far westward.

It was an experience calculated to toughen the fiber of body and mind. It was to the culture that came in this form that



JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

could be credited the courage and vigor of Mr. Giddings in the trying times when he was compelled to take a stalwart stand against the foes of righteousness and truth.

The father had made rather large purchases of land, but defective titles resulted in his losing much of it and thus he was made to suffer the burdens and inconveniences of poverty.

When the boy was seventeen years of age he had part in the defensive military program against the British and Indians brot about by the inauguration of the War of 1812. The father had fought in the battles of the Revolution and therefore placed no hindrance in the way of his son taking part in the later conflict. He was under age but he had enlisted and had been accepted, and continued in the line until relieved by the coming of the regular troops. He had part in the first battle of the war fought on the 29th of September, 1812. The following clipping from the Cleveland Press makes reference to this incident in a way that begets considerable interest. This clipping has been pasted in the back part of the volume of biography on the shelf in the Ohio State Library:

"During the war of 1812, General Hull sent a volunteer company to protect the inhabitants and property on the Marblehead peninsula, a dozen miles east of Port Clinton. Indians who were concealed and who were in league with the British, attacked the party, which sought safety in a log house. Here the patriots defended themselves for nearly three days, when unexpected relief came.

"Of the entire company only thirty-seven escaped, and the bodies of the slain, it is said, remained for over two years in the hut before they were given burial.

"The few survivors pledged themselves, if alive, on the fiftieth anniversary of this terrible slaughter, to meet on that occasion at the exact spot where the conflict took place. Giddings was nineteen years of age at that time. Subsequently he became a distinguished citizen and was loved by that entire portion of the state which sent him to Congress. He electrified Washington and was eminent in the public eye. Still, as a soldier he did not forget his promise to his comrades. On the twenty-ninth day of September, 1862, just a half century after, the grey-haired veteran, true to his promise, returned to the place where so many of his comrades had fallen by his side in battle.

"But he discovered that in the passing of time, one by one, the thirty-seven survivors had died. And so he stood alone of them all on the hallowed spot.

"Feeling it a sacred duty, in memory of these men, the eminent soldier-statesman erected a stone, inscribing thereon the names of those who fought and those who afterward died. This stone with its records still stands near Fox's Dock, but a mile or a little more from historic Johnson's Island, made famous later. The spot is now named 'Meadow-brook'. On the stone, the names appearing in prominence, are Daniel Mingus, Alexander Mason, and M. Simmons. These men were officers. The stone facings are covered with the names of the men who fought in the battle.

"Two years later Mr. Giddings himself died, and in turn his fellow-citizens of Ashtabula County erected to his memory the beautiful monument at Jefferson.

"The conflict on Marblehead peninsula is said to have been the first trial at arms in the war of 1812 on Ohio soil."

Joshua R. Giddings came to a time that needed the prophetic insight and outlook. If any man had the prophetic vision, Giddings had it. His contemporaries came to recognize this fact and to honor and respect him as a discerner of men's thots and of the outcome of national policies persisted in.

No one can read the history of those times in the light of present-day knowledge and not be convinced that this man was sent on a mission of special significance to his and all future times.

Thirteen years before Abraham Lincoln proclaimed emancipation of the slaves of the South, Joshua R. Giddings uttered the following words in the House of Representatives:

"When the contest shall come; when the thunders roll and the lightnings flash; when the slaves of the South shall rise in the spirit of Freedom, actuated by the soul-stirring emotion that they are men, destined to immortality, entitled to the rights which God bestowed upon them; when the masters shall turn pale and tremble; when their dwellings shall smoke and dismay sit on each countenance; Sir, I do not say, we will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh, but I do say that the lovers of our race will then stand forth and exert the legitimate powers of this Government of freedom. We shall then have constitutional power to act for the good of our country, and to do justice to the slave. We will then strike off the shackles from his limbs. The Government will then have power to act between slavery and freedom; and it can best make peace by giving liberty to the slave. And let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that time hastens; the President* is exerting a power that will hurry it on; and I shall hail it as the

* Millard Fillmore.

approaching dawn of that Millennium which I know must come upon the earth."

A recent writer in the Sociological Journal recalls a bit of history relating to that time and the forces that had to be met before progress could be made in the direction of universal freedom. He goes on to declare that "In the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829, the North Carolina convention of 1835, and the South Carolina discussion of nullification during the same period, the abler men of the South definitely abandoned the doctrine of democracy." "John Marshall, John Randolph, Judge Gaston of North Carolina, and Calhoun and McDuffie of South Carolina, were perhaps the best spokesmen of the political group which led this reaction. Webster and Chancellor Kent reflected a similar faith in New England and New York."

The philosophy of this group of anti-democratic politicians gets the following interpretation by this same writer, and since it is so brief and yet so comprehensive I take the liberty to quote further:

"The problem of the South was so to state the common belief that people would settle down to a quiet acceptation of slavery and a stratified social and economic organization, that poor men, even when they were in the majority, would be contented, and that insurrection on the part of slaves would be easily suppressed. To do this slavery must be shown to be a good thing of itself and the results of the slave traffic highly beneficial to society. Heavy work must be done. Who could better do it than the negro? Someone must guide and manage public affairs. Who could do that so well as the master of the great plantations? If the slave did the rough work and the master managed the state, common men with farms and shops would probably vote and fight in the event of war. In return for the privilege of running the state the master might be induced to meet the main burden of taxation."

It was necessary that this doctrine get an establishment and to do it the best brains of the South must be employed. If one cares to acquaint himself with the arguments setting forth the civilizing (?) influence of slavery he can find the substance of it in a book still extant, entitled "Pro-Slavery Argument". This volume contains *Harper's Memoirs of Slavery, Hammond's Letter on Slavery, Simm's Morals of Slavery* and President Dew's *Argument in Defense of Slavery.*

To read these arguments today sets one to wondering how it was possible for sane minds to operate so insanely. As the writer already quoted says, "The teachings of the great Jefferson were dismissed with the contemptuous remark: 'Glittering fallacies' ".

President Dew at the head of William and Mary College, one of the most learned men of the Southland, was during the years from 1825 to 1836, the period of his professorship in the college, and just preceding his elevation to the presidency, lecturing to large classes of students on the subject of political and social science. By this means so generously afforded him he was planting the seeds of what we would now call Prussianism, for he had spent many years in Germany imbibing the teachings which now, after nearly a hundred years, have fruited in the tragedy of the European continent. It seems that we are still fighting the battles that supplement the ones fought in our own Civil War that genuine democracy may have its way in the world.

The writer of this article very early in life was permitted to read and make notation on President Dew's "Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of Ancient and Modern Nations," but little did he suspect that the man who prepared that Digest was afflicted with the disease of Prussianism. Only in later years did he come to know the truth about the bias of his mind, that could see slavery as an authorized Christian institution.

The writer in the journal already quoted, says, "Few greater blows have ever struck at democracy in the United States than this argument of an able and trusted teacher and scientist."

In Harper's Memoirs on Slavery are found these words:

> "The exclusive owners of property ever have been, ever will, and perhaps ever ought to be the virtual owners of mankind. * * * It is the order of nature and of God that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that animals should prey upon each other."

It was this school of political philosophy composed of the great majority of the ablest men of the South that had gained

control not only in the southern portion of our country but who had driven a mighty wedge in the Northern area that Mr. Giddings had to meet when the people of the Western Reserve called him to represent them in the halls of Congress. Long before he came to his place in Congress a resolution which had been originally suggested by Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina and later introduced by Charles G. Atherton of New Hampshire establishing a rule known as the "Twenty-first" or the "Atherton Gag", whereby all petitions relating to the subject of slavery were denied any hearing or consideration beyond the privilege of being laid on the table.

John Quincy Adams had never failed to denounce these proceedings—he spoke of them as an outrage upon Northern freemen and Northern rights.

When Mr. Giddings came to represent Ohio and the Western Reserve Section he took the same stand but with greater vehemence and thus there was established a life-long friendship with the "Old-Man Eloquent" of Massachusetts and they became a battle-team of great power. Because of Mr. Giddings' forceful attitude in opposition to this phase of procedure he became the almost sole medium thru whom petitions from the North found their introduction into Congress. Especially was this true with regard to the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. From the beginning he was marked as an Abolitionist but the history of those days shows that he was so only in the sense in which Jefferson was. Thru all the controversy he refused to be charged with any responsibility for agitating interference with slavery in the states where it already existed. When the war came he was a loyal supporter of the cause of the army of the North in its struggle for the perpetuity of the national government with the feeling of assurance that when it was all over, slavery would no longer have an abiding place in the United States.

Giddings came as a re-inforcement to the cause of Freedom as the North had defined it and had struggled for it. He believed in the Jeffersonian doctrine that all men are born free and equal. His first attempts were scorned by the Southern men and lightly esteemed by many in the North, but in a very short time his pow-

erful personality began to burn its way into the consciousness of the legislators with whom he was brot in touch and that of the country at large both North and South. His attitude was the same as that of Garrison who said in substance: "I will take no backward step, I will not equivocate, I will be heard," and it was because of this heroic stand, not only on account of his physical courage but because of intellectual clearness and moral integrity that he was heard, and was able to pass easily to the foremost place among the spokesmen of his time in behalf of the doctrine that "right makes might" and that truth spoken and striven for will come to prevail. He felt that thru-out history there has been evidence that men have been chosen to give forth prophetic utterance and to stand in the front of the fray when occasion demands. He made no proud claim of prophecy but he was a prophet nevertheless. As soon as he began his Congressional career he began to center his mind in the work of developing arguments that would convince his contemporaries that slavery is wrong and cannot continue.[1] That the warfare against it might as well begin immediately and be carried to the final issue and that there was no doubt as to the character of that issue. With this in mind he favored anything that would bring that result and opposed everything that amounted to an attempt to perpetuate it.

The Nineteenth congressional district of Ohio has had very many distinguished men as representative but none greater than Joshua R. Giddings. Elizha Whittlesey represented the district for many years prior to Giddings. Hutchins, who succeeded Giddings, was representative for four years. James A. Garfield followed Hutchins and served for eighteen years until he was elected United States Senator and President of the United States. Giddings himself was several times mentioned for this highest office in the gift of the people. He was distinguished for his patriotism but it was not of the sort that could be defined in the way another member of Congress defined it: "A patriot is a gentleman with whom we agree, a traitor is one with whom we do not agree." His patriotism was love of country and sacrificial service.

[1] The Exiles of Florida; Speeches in Congress; Pacificus-Essays, etc.

Mr. Henry G. Wheeler in his biographical history of the Congress of the United States published in 1848 while Mr. Giddings was in the midst of his congressional activity said of him:

"We believe Mr. Giddings to be a sincere man; we know him to be an able and eloquent man. The odium which attaches itself to the peculiar opinion he entertains has kept him down from that position in the House which, under other circumstances, he would have undoubtedly have occupied. He is called a demagogue; with what truth, the country will judge.

"Thruout his whole term of service, the personal bearing of Mr. Giddings has been unexceptionable, and in accordance with the strictest requirements of parliamentary decorum. We have seen him taunted, rebuked, insulted—all but struck; yet we never saw him forget his knowledge of the presence he was in, much less engage in anything like one of those pugilistic encounters of which the records of the House, in recent years, afford so many humiliating evidences.

"On one occasion, when an insult was regarded by him as very direct and gross, he manifested his appreciation of it by this reply—a type of his conduct in all such instances: 'It is related of a veteran marshal, who had grown old in the service of his country, and who had fought a hundred battles, that he happened to offend a young and fiery officer, who spat in his face for the purpose of insulting him. The general, taking his handkerchief from his pocket and wiping his face, remarked, If I could wash your blood from my soul as easily as I can this spittle from my face, young man, you should not live another day.

"'I will say to the member that I claim no station superior to the most humble, nor inferior to the most exalted. In representing what I believe to be the views of my people, and what I deem their interests and the interests of the North, I made the remarks I did. I say to him, that at the North we have a different mode of punishing insults from that which exists at the South. With us, the man who wantonly assails another is punished by public sentiment. To that sentiment I appeal. It will do justice both to the member and to myself.'

"It may truly be said that there is no member of the House more constantly attentive to the duties of his station or the interests of his constituents than Mr. Giddings."

The one thing more than any other that commanded the thot of Mr. Giddings was the question of human rights. He never distinguished in this respect between classes or races of men. To him the being who was looked upon by a vast number of the American people, in his time, as chattel, was a human being with all the rights of any other human being. It was this

that he contended for thru all his official life and it was due to him as much as to any other one man that forces were put in motion that finally took the shackles off four million slaves. For doing this kind of agitating he was persecuted and hissed and maltreated. Congress at one time rebuked him and he resigned from membership, only to be returned by an indignant yet loyal constituency. No hero on the battle-field ever exhibited greater valor united with better wisdom than did this hero of a hundred battles in America's legislative halls that Freedom might be the birthright of all men, white and black, who should come after him.

Remember if you will that this man had to stand alone thru many weary days. John Adams was with him in the House, to be sure, but John Adams was an old man. He had been President of the United States and was honored and respected by all. There were a few others who believed as did Giddings. But they belonged to the group of timid ones who feared the oligarchy of the South.

Giddings was the first to defy the power that had threatened men of the North and a few of the South who had whispered their distrust in the pro-slavery autocracy. His defiance cut to the core. As soon as it was uttered the Southern members knew that a Daniel had come to judgment, and that no matter how many lions might roar in legislative halls the man from the Western Reserve in Ohio could not be cowed nor swerved from the one single purpose that all men under the stars and stripes should be free. Slowly but surely the Northern men began to feel that they would like to have part in the holy conflict. Slowly the people of the North grew in their determination that representatives should be chosen who would stand by the Declaration of Independence. Abraham Lincoln sat thru one term of Congress while Giddings was at the height of his forcefulness as an opponent of slavery. Who knows what influence Giddings had over this thirty-five-year-old member from Illinois, who was finally to draw the instrument that would carry to fruition the Ohio Statesman's cherished desire and hopes.

Lincoln and Giddings were made of the same human stuff, and were trained in the same school of hard knocks. The latter

made a careful and studious research into the question of slavery studying its history from the beginnings.

The fruits of this labor he brot before Congress in finely digested arguments and doubtless Lincoln profited from the array of material gathered by his great compeer.

His "Exiles of Florida" and his "Pacificus" essays, together with his volume of speeches published in 1853, reveal the tremendous labor he was to in getting ready for his part in the conflict. No man ever spoke with greater authority on the subject of human rights and human duties. He based his contentions on the documents that have been basic thruout history. The Bible had been studied, and the results of his study in the Hebrew and Greek testaments, together with a clear brain and an honest purpose, to know the truth and abide by it, made of him a foe to be feared and a friend to be relied on.

The following quotation from a speech in the House reveals his attitude; he was being interrupted by the friends of the institution of slavery and coming back to his own discussion he said:

"I was stating my views on the rights of humanity and I said to the gentleman from Tennessee that I hold precisely with the fathers of 1776. I hold to the principle for which the gentleman's father and my own contended at Bunker Hill and Yorktown; I hold to the principle on which this government is based, that men are free and equal and that he who attempts to interfere with God-given rights does it at his peril. I hold that every human being who breathes the air of God comes in with all the rights of any other man and whoever interferes with it does so at his peril. There never was a more glorious cause to fight for nor would I ask for a more glorious cause to die for than this cause which deals with the right of man to be free; and I contend that when anyone's divine right of human liberty is interfered with that he has a right to defend himself."

Quoting Mr. Jefferson he proceeds,

"'Can the liberties of a nation be thot secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God; that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice can not sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel

of Fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.'

Concluded Mr. Giddings,

No, the Almighty has no attributes which will permit him to take sides with oppression, outrage, and crime. When the day of retribution shall arrive, a holy and just God can take no part with slaveholders."

These quotations are taken to illustrate the attitude of his mind toward this question for which he gave his thot and energy during all these exciting and somewhat bewildering days. The years following 1848, when Mr. Wheeler made the notes mentioned above, were the most thrilling perhaps in American history and the same sort of battles had to be fought as have been fought since then and which have in large measure led up to the present situation. The result of the legislative battles at that time led to the Civil War. The result of kindred struggles amidst diplomatic relations have led up to the present war.

These years of experience brot Mr. Giddings into contact with the great men of his time. It was because of these intimate relations among men of this type that there sprang up friendships and alliances that resulted in extensive correspondence having to do with the issue of the time and the political aspirations of the leaders of the day.

Some one has said, "If one would have friends he must be one." This saying is familiar to all of us and has its counterpart in the saying if one would have correspondents he must write letters. The closest and most vital touch we can have with the past is found in those documents that next to the human voice or the glance of the eye or the gesture of the human hand reveal thot and personality.

For some years the writer has been aware that the grandchildren of Joshua R. Giddings were in possession of letters received by him from noted men of his time during the days of his activity as a member of the Congress of the United States. Many of these letters in whole, or in part, have been used in the biography prepared by his son-in-law, George W. Julian. This biography was published in 1892. The biography, however,

contains only a comparatively small number of these letters. If all were to be printed they would fill a large volume and would serve as a basis for a lively narrative of the political life of the United States from 1825 to 1864, the year of Mr. Giddings sudden and rather unexpected demise.

The writer's life began near the closing of this man's career and his childhood and youth were stirred by the accounts of the patriotic service of this man and his distinguished contemporaries. These accounts remained vivid in memory and when in mature years his lot was cast close to the statesman's home and in the midst of members of his immediate family, children and grandchildren, it was natural that new and fresh interest should be awakened in the whole of his career. In the course of intimate association with the family of a grand-daughter the fact of these letters, still preserved, came to his attention and he was given the liberty to read them.

If any man ever deserved a large company of correspondents it was Joshua R. Giddings. How he found time to do so much in epistolary effort is a mystery. He never passed a day while away from home that he did not write to some member of his family and it frequently occurred that two or three members of his family would receive letters of news, counsel and admonition or of inquiry of various kinds. This was kept up thru all the years of his Congressional and Consular service. The family letters—hundreds of them—are carefully and systematically preserved in the family archives and there is ground for hope that many of them together with the great number received from his compeers may be placed among other valuable papers in the care of our State Historical Society on the University Grounds.

As said, it is not the purpose of this document to deal with the details of the life of this illustrious Ohio statesman, altho this has never been done in the special interest of the Historical Society. These letters, however, may throw side lights on this wonderful man's public career.

The period of his greatest activity was a period in the nation's life in which the state of Ohio had a notable part and the little town of Jefferson in Ashtabula County figured large in it all, for Jefferson was not only the home of Giddings—the

House member of the United States Congress—but also the home of Benjamin F. Wade, a member of the United States Senate. Here lived the father of William Dean Howells, a contemporary with these famous statesmen and an important factor in the stirring history of the time in which the Western Reserve came to hold a distinctive place as a cradle of liberty for the black man, and as a center of intellectual activity.

Wade and Giddings for many years were associated as law partners in the village which is the county seat and many very interesting stories are related of them. The offices they occupied individually are still standing, on ground owned by the children of the respective families. The Wade office is now used as the conservatory of the trophies won and relics gathered in the service and travels of the son, Major General Wade, who has retired and resides in the old Wade homestead. The Giddings office was occupied by his son as a law office till his death a very few years ago. This son had left the office just as it was when his father died in 1864. When the son died the grandchildren made inventory of the papers, and his letters which had not already been arranged were placed with the others in systematic order and are in the hands of the children.

Wade and Giddings differed greatly in their methods. Giddings filed all the letters he received from his contemporaries, while Wade left nothing of that sort for future generations to profit by, neither did he write anything except what may be seen in the laws of the State or Nation, while Giddings wrote volumes that rank as literature, and the innumerable letters written to his family and to those whose responses are now on file with the grandchildren.

The letters from the great men of the time form a composite pen picture of the political status of the period that is tremendously interesting to one who places value on what has been done by his predecessors. These letters, read alongside the history of the period and biographies of the men who made the history, give a thrill which nothing can give in the way of records of the past. There is the handwriting of these great men and someone has said that nothing that a man produces so reveals character as does his chirography. And it is wonder-

HOME AND OFFICE.

fully true, to say the least, that the specimens of handwritings shown by these letters vary from the smooth and graceful and orderly arranged to the rough, almost illegible, and a study of the characters of the men shows the same variety. An analysis, if one had time and space to make it, would be mighty interesting and would disclose as clearly as actions the temperament and culture of these men, from the refined and classic and unswervable in Charles Francis Adams and Charles Sumner to the rugged, tho no less sterling forcefulness of Horace Greeley and Henry Wilson.

A few of these letters follow with brief comments. For a full understanding of all they mean it would be necessary to have the letters written by Mr. Giddings either as drawing them out or in response to them. But now after almost three quarters of a century since these letters were written we can reach facts and conclusions that would have been impossible at the time and so can make an estimate of the wisdom and discernment of these contemporary minds working in a common cause. The letters are printed not only to satisfy the interest, we all have, in the history of times that are gone but also to gratify the human interest in the product of the hands of the great characters who have made American history. The men who wrote these letters are but few of the many correspondents whose letters have been preserved. The letters photographed for this article were written by men most familiar to the average reader of history.

Henry Clay evidently wrote the letter here presented in the days just preceding his last nomination for the presidency when he had been requested to express himself again on some issue or other important at the time. It was due to impolitic utterance previously that lost him the highest office in the gift of his country. He was the idol of his friends and they were deeply mortified at his defeat after a half century almost, of valuable national service.

ASHLAND, 10th Nov., 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received your friendly letter and thank you for the kind motives that prompted it.

I have been so often before the public, frequently involuntarily and unexpectedly of late, that I should regret the necessity of again presenting myself. I hardly think that it can be deemed necessary by any fair and reasonable Abolitionist. My opinion has been long deliberately formed and has been extensively published. I should have to refer to these evidences for them. I have now before me a letter from Georgia requesting a letter on that subject for publication. I shall decline furnishing one.

After having seen you, Mr. Adams and Mr. Gates denounced by the ultra Abolitionists I am quite sure that nothing I could say would satisfy them.

You will have seen that a letter to you from Cassius M. Clay, which was read at some public meeting, has been attributed to me. I saw your explanation card which will make that alright.

I congratulate you on your election and upon the bright prospects of the Whigs.

Your friend,

The HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. H. CLAY.

My dear Sir Ashland 16th Nov. 1843.

I received your friendly letter, and thank you for the kind motives which prompted it.

I have been so often before the public, frequently involuntarily and unexpectedly of late, that I should regret the necessity of my again presenting myself. I hardly think it can be deemed necessary by any fair and reasonable calculations. My opinions have been long deliberately formed, and have been extensively published. I should have to refer to them wherever for them. I have now before me a letter from Georgia, requesting a letter upon that subject for publication. I shall decline favouring me.

After having seen you, Mr. Adams and Mr. Slade denounced by the Ultra Abolitionists, I am quite sure that nothing else I could say would satisfy them.

You will have seen that a letter to you from Mr. Caspar M. Clay, which was read at some public meeting, has been attributed to me. I saw your explanatory card, which will put that matter right.

I congratulate you on your election, and upon the bright prospects of the Whigs.

Your friend & obt. Servt.

H Clay

The Honble J R Giddings

The letters that passed between Wendell Phillips and Mr. Giddings were numerous. This one discusses no issue, but shows that Phillips leaned on Giddings as a Congressional support during perilous days. The place occupied by Phillips is among the immortals.

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS.

DEAR SIR:

I am directed by the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to ask your presence at the annual meeting of the society which will take place in this city on the 27, 28, and 29 of this month.

We know and feel as deeply as any men can the importance of your being in Washington at the present crisis, but we know still better and deeper than any men can, what an impulse your presence and voice would give to the Anti-Slavery feelings of New-England, how much enthusiasm they will call forth, and how far they will go to waken, if aught can waken, the feelings proper to the occasion and the circumstances in which the whole country is placed.

If therefore you could find or make it possible to be with us, we should esteem it a great favor and can assure you that the cause of liberty would receive great aid.

It gave us great pleasure to have your daughter with us at the Fair. I saw her in good health at Mr. Francis Jackson's last Sunday, and she is expected there, I understand tomorrow.

Mr. Jackson wishes me to add his earnest request, that in case you accept our invitation, you would make his house, No. 7 Hollis St., your home during your stay in the city.

I was deeply interested and learned a great deal from your speech for a copy of which I thank you. It was received just before I went to Worcester to lecture, and I did my share to spread the facts and arguments it contained before the mass of the people.

Very respectfully and sincerely

Yours,

Sat., Jan. 16, 1847. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Hon. J. R. Giddings.

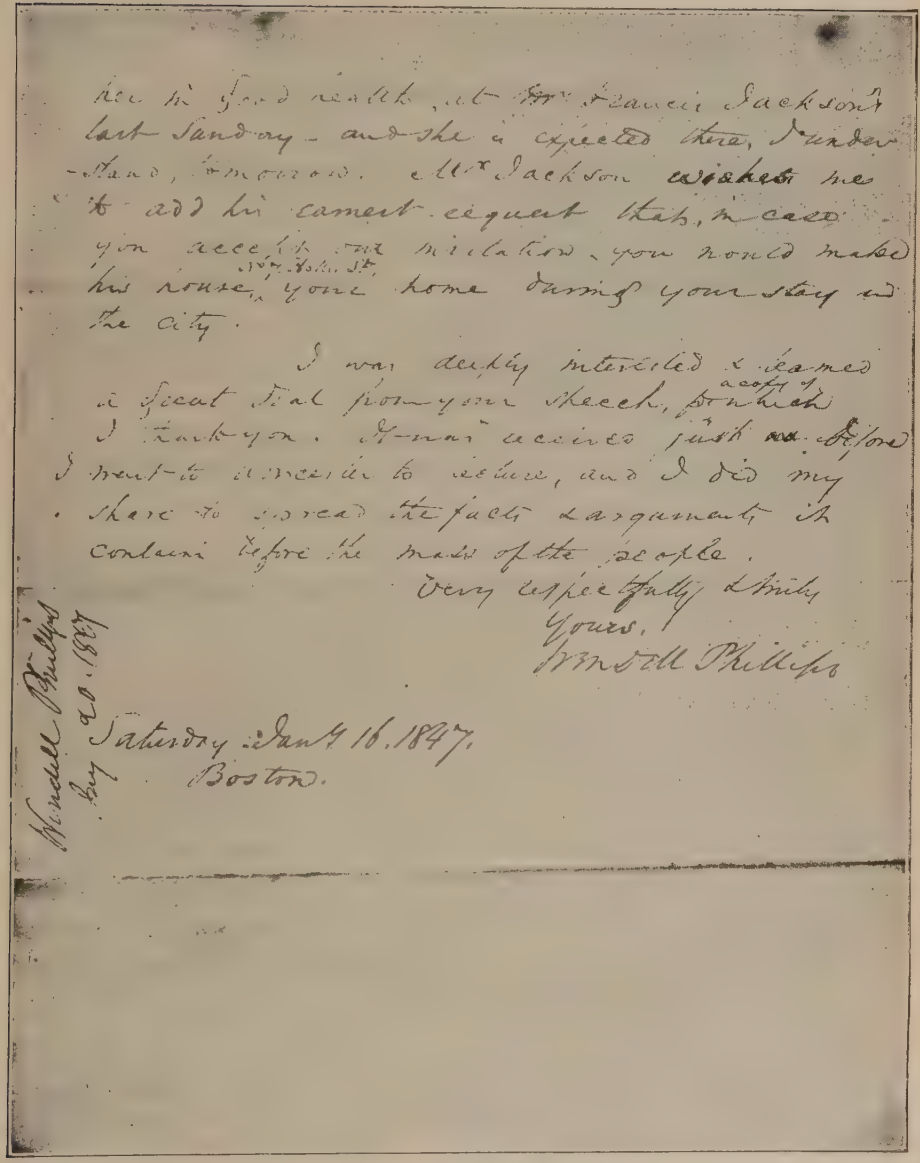
Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to ask your presence at the Annual Meeting of the Society which will take place, in this city, on the 27th, 28th & 29th of this month.

We know and feel as deeply as any men can the importance of your being in Washington at the present crisis - but we know & feel better & deeper than any men can what an influence your presence and voice would give to the Anti-Slavery feeling of the England, how much enthusiasm they would call forth, and how far they would go to awaken, if aught can awaken, the feelings proper to the occasion, & the circumstances in which the whole country is placed.

If therefore you could find or make it possible to be with us, we should esteem it a great favor, & can assure you the cause of Liberty would receive great aid.

It gave us great pleasure to have your daughter with us at the Fair - I saw her



her in good health, at Mr Francis Jackson's last Sunday - and she is expected there, I understand, tomorrow. Mrs Jackson wishes me to add her earnest request that, in case you accept the invitation, you would make his house, (No. 7 Pinckney St.) your home during your stay in the city.

I was deeply interested & learned a great deal from your speech, for which accept my I thank you. It was received just as I hoped I most fervently desired it to be, and I did my share to spread the facts & arguments it contains before the mass of the people.

Very respectfully & truly
Yours.
Wm Stl Phillips

Wendell Phillips
Esq
Jan 16. 1847

Saturday Jan'y 16. 1847.
Boston.

The Farmer-Shoemaker friend of Freedom, Henry Wilson, Vice President with General Grant, was a wide-awake colaborer.

The Davis referred to in the letter along with Webster is John Davis, a Whig Congressman from Mass., who "spilled the beans" in the Wilmot Proviso case by talking against time till the adjournment hour and thus defeating the measure intended to preclude the adoption of slavery in any territory secured from Mexico.

Henry Wilson was a friend to Giddings to the end.

NATICK, Feb. 6th, 1847.

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS.

DEAR SIR:

I feel rather discouraged in view of the condition of affairs at Washington—if I understand how things are turning, the friends of slavery are gaining ground. I have indulged the hope that the Northern Democrats would be true and resist the extension of slave territory; but the vote the other day looks like treason on their part.

It makes me sick at heart to see the course the Government is pursuing. Perhaps we can expect nothing better from the Democracy, but the conduct of the majority, or at least a majority of the leading men of the Whig Party is disgusting in the extreme. Must we always submit to it? I hope not. I am ashamed of Webster and Davis, and I believe if I was in the Legislature I would denounce them both and defeat the election of the last. He has been censured in caucus and will have a hard run. I think he could be defeated and Hudson elected in his place if we had some good managers in the Legislature.

I think I see a movement for Taylor for President. I hope you Anti-Slavery Whigs will resist it if it breaks the party to pieces. We must not submit to it. If we go into the convention and he or any other slave-holder is nominated, I think we should call a convention of the friends of freedom in the free states and run a good and true man.

The people are opening their eyes to the conduct of the Southern Whigs. The free-state Whigs must dictate the policy of the party or the party better be defeated and broken up. If you get time do write me about affairs.

Shall we be able to prevent the extension of slave territory? When will the National Convention be held and where? What are the prospects of candidates? Can we get an Anti-Slavery Whig, and if so who will it be?

I saw Horace Greeley who is now in Washington some days ago and he was for Corwin and Gov. Leonard. Would it do to discuss the subject in the Anti-Slavery Whig papers?

Natick, Feb. 6, 1847.

Hon. J. R. Giddings

Dear Sir

I feel rather discouraged in view of the position of affairs at Washington — if I understand how things are turning the friends of Slavery are gaining ground. I have indulged the hope that the northern Democrats would determine and resist the extension of Slave territory but the vote the other day looks like treason on their part. It makes one sick at heart to see the course of Government is pursuing. Perhaps we can expect nothing better from the Democracy but the conduct of a majority or at least a majority of the Leading men of the Whig Party is disgraceful in the extreme. Must we always submit to it? I hope not. I am ashamed of Webster and Davis and I believe if I was in the Legislature I would denounce them both and defeat the election of the last. He has been censured in Caucus and will have a hard run. I think he would be defeated and Hudson elected in his place if we had some good managers in the Legislature. I think I see a movement for Taylor for President. I hope

you Anti Slavery Whigs will resist it if it breaks the Party to pieces, We must not submit to it. If we go into the national Convention and he or any other Slave-holder is nominated I think we should a convention of the friends of freedom in the free States and run good and true men. The people are opening their eyes to the conduct of the Southern Whigs. The [redacted] State Whigs must dictate the policy of the Party or the Party had better be defeated and broken up. If you get time do write me about affairs. Shall we be able to prevent the extension of Slave territory? When will the national Convention be held and where? What are the prospects of candidates? Can we get an Anti Slavery Whig and if so who will it be? I saw Horace Greeley who is now in Washington some days ago and he was for Corwin and for Seward. Would it do to [redacted] discuss the subject in the Anti Slavery Whig papers?

I hope you will be firm as a rock for our hope is upon you. I saw your daughter in Boston at the fair and also at the Anti Slavery Convention. Give my respects to her.

Yours Henry Wilson.

I hope you will be firm as a rock for our hope is upon you. I saw your daughter in Boston at the Fair, and also at the Anti-Slavery convention. Give my respects to her.

Yours,

HENRY WILSON.

John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, and his son, Charles Francis Adams, were devoted friends. Giddings lived to see the older man fall in his place in the House where he was serving when the end came. Charles Francis Adams was a man of fine culture and splendid character and much interested in the movements of the times. He kept Giddings in touch with signs in the Eastern states and required much of Giddings in keeping in touch with events in the middle West. The gentleman referred to in the letter might have been Thomas Corwin of Lebanon, Ohio.

HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

BOSTON 8 December, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR: Your note is perfectly correct. The Whigs ought to be made to understand that there are some men, however few, who look at principle steadily, to the exclusion of everything else. I am so sick and tired of compromise that I should be glad to have it understood that we make none.

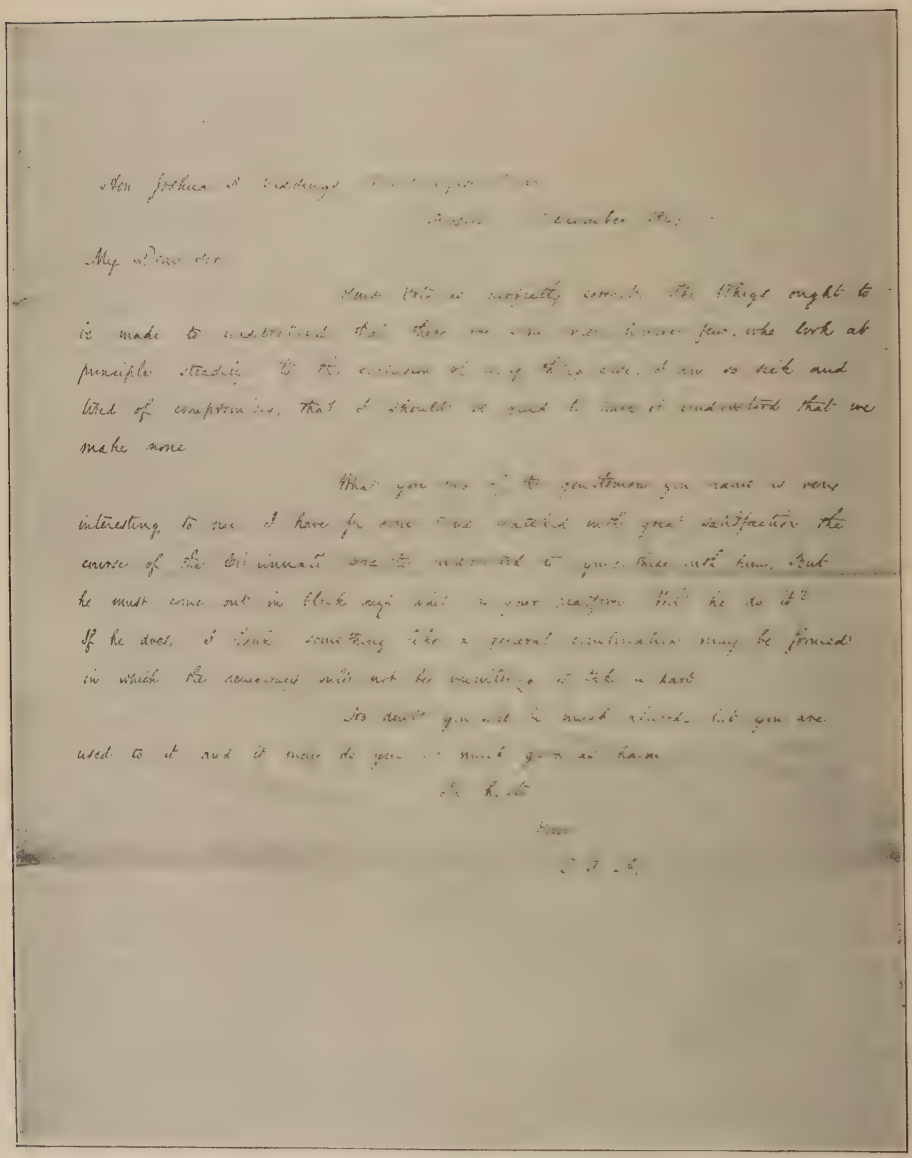
What you say of the gentleman you name is very interesting to me. I have for some time watched with great satisfaction the course of the Cincinnati Gazette, understood to sympathise with him, but he must come out in black and white on your platform. Will he do it? If he does, I think something like a general combination may be formed in which the Democracy will not be unwilling to take a part.

No doubt you will be much abused, but you are used to it and it may do you as much good as harm.

In haste,

Yours,

C. F. A.



The letter which follows was written by a man who perhaps, felt more keenly the pulse beat of American politics in his time than any other living journalist. His feelings were sensitive to the limit. He had the journalistic instinct and had great part in moulding the thot of his time. Giddings could tell him things that he needed for his work so he drew upon him generously. His statement about Mr. Clay was right at the time, but Clay was a man of many attitudes. The letter shows the intense interest of Mr. Greeley in the principles for which Giddings stood.

NEW YORK, April 14, 1848.

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS,

DEAR SIR: What is doing on the subject of the Wilmot Proviso in connection with the Presidency? It is high time that something decisive was done with regard to it. I have written to Mr. Root on the subject but have not heard from him. It does seem to me that three or four properly worded interrogatives signed by all the members of Congress of both parties who will sign, and seasonably addressed to all the probable or possible candidates for president, so that they cannot decently refuse to answer before the meetings of the two national conventions.

I know it is supposed that Mr. Clay is against us on the Free Soil question, but I do not guess when I say he is not. But whoever shall be our candidate, it is essential that he shall be, not only right, but known to be so, openly, avowedly, unequivocally so.

Seasonable and decisive action will put us all right and enable the Western Reserve of our two states to poll their full Whig votes for our candidate.

Please act at all events. Write me frankly and fully on the subject and on the general subject.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

Auburn, April 14th, 1848.

Hon. J. R. Giddings,

Dear Sir:

What is doing on the subject of the Wilmot Proviso in connection with the Presidency? It is high time that something decisive were done in regard to it. I have written to Mr. Root on the subject, but have not heard from him. It does seem to me that three or four properly worded interrogatories signed by all the members of Congress of both parties who will vote, and generally addressed to all the probable or possible candidates for President, so that they can not decently refuse to answer until before the meetings of the two National Conventions. I know it is supposed that Mr. Clay is opposed to us on the Free Soil question, but I do not guess so. But whoever should be our candidate, it is essential that he should be not only right but known to be so openly, avowedly & unequivocally so. Seasonable and decisive action will put us all right, and ennoble the Western Reserves of our two States to poll their full Whig vote for our candidate.

Please act, and at all events write me frankly and fully on this subject, and on the general subject.

Yours, Horace Greeley.

The mood that weighs down ambition much of the time is written into this brief letter of Thomas Corwin. His ambition like Mr. Clay's failed of its desired goal, altho lesser honors crowded upon him,—Governor of Ohio, United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and Minister to Mexico, came to reward him for his seeking and in recognition of much valuable service for his native state.

LEBANON, 15th May, 1848.

DEAR GIDDINGS: I send the enclosed today. You will see what is wanted. I pray you send such documents to this young missionary as he wants.

Everything in relation to the presidency here is in doubt; painful, and I fear, hopeless uncertainty. God help us, for the help of man, I fear, is not to be relied on.

Truly your friend,

Hon. J. R. Giddings, Washington, D. C. THOMAS CORWIN.

The "Sage of White Hall" in this letter is in one of his mildest moods. He fought the enemies of what he deemed the truth with weapons of wrath and indignation. His print shop had to be barricaded against the violence of mobs. But he stood for righteousness and gave his life in the defense of human freedom.

This is doubtless a typical response to the frequent call for his assistance:

WHITE HALL P. O.,
MADISON CO., KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 25th ultimo is received. Am glad always to hear from you. I rejoice that the friends of freedom are encouraged by any means to persevere.

I shall be with you on the 25th if nothing unforeseen prevents.

I differ with your friends in many subordinate matters, but I am willing to merge them in the great question.

I cannot support Fillmore's administration, and Smith is too ultra. I trust we may be able to do some good for the cause by our convention.

My vote is about 3,500. 20,000 persons had not voted — dissatisfied with the old parties.

My respects to the family.

Your obedient servant,

Sept. 3rd, 1851. C. M. CLAY,

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings,

Lebanon 15th May 48

Dear Giddings

I send the inclosed to day - You will see what is wanted. I pray you send back document to this County. Mr. Conway - by the mail -

Every thing in relation to the Presidency here is in doubt - painful & fearful - Shameful Uncertainty God help us! for the hearts of men do fear is not to be blind us.

Truly yr friend

Chas Brown

Hon J Giddings

Mail

JC

My Dear Sir,

White Hall P.O.
Maidstone Thy

Your favor of the 25th ult. is received. I am glad always to hear from you. I rejoice that the friends of freedom are encouraged by any means to persevere. I shall be with you on the 25th if nothing unforeseen prevents. I differ with your friends in many non-essential matters, but I am willing to merge them in the great question.

I cannot support Fillmore's administration! G. Smith is too ultra.

I trust we may be able to do some good for the cause by our Convention.

My vote is about 9500 — 20,000 persons have not voted against Fillmore & the Fugitive.

My respects to the family.

Sept 3. 1851

Hon J. R. Giddings.

Yours Obt. Servt.

This letter was written by a man of the type of Horace Greeley. While Greeley was editor of the New York Tribune, Thurlow Weed was editor of the Albany Evening Journal. Up to 1856 this paper was managed in the interest of the Whig party, afterwards in the interest of the Republican. W. H. Seward, Greeley and Weed were known as the Republican Triumvirate of New York for many years.

This letter presents a modern idea of war:

ASTOR HOUSE, COLEMAN AND STETSON,
NEW YORK, Dec. 24, 1855.

DEAR SIR: If the president in his message plays the game of war, why not out-trump him? Wars are sometimes national blessings, tho generally the reverse.

But are there not worse things than war? The Mexican War, tho causeless and ugly, yet it contained jewels.

If a war with England would give us a tariff, Canada and Freedom, shall we refuse it? But it has another aspect. The duplicity of the administration — were you to take this ground in one of your strong, vigorous fifteen minute speeches, it would blow the war and the Administration sky-high.

Very truly yours,

Hon J. Giddings. THURLOW WEED.

Astor House

Coleman & Stetson

New York Dec 24 1855

Dear Sir,

If the President in his Message plays the Game of War, why not out-bid him? Wars are sometimes National Blessings, though generally the reverse. But are there no worse things than War? The Fugitive War though causeless, and ugly, upon it's contrained Jewels.

If a Man with England would give us a Dutchess, Canada and Freedom, who would refuse it?

But it has another aspect. The duplicity of the Administration were equal to take this ground in one of those strong Vigorous fifteen Minutes Speeches. It would blow the War and the Administration "Sky-high."

Very truly Yours
Joshua Reed

Hon. J. Giddings

The period and circumstances of this letter are of the most interesting in the history of our state or nation. Salmon P. Chase passed thru a similar experience to that of Corwin—Governor of Ohio, U. S. Senator, member of Lincoln's Cabinet and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

This letter with Corwin's shows that the most prominent of Ohio's statesmen kept in close touch with Giddings:

COLUMBUS, Feb. 8, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Overlooking your direction to address you at Danbury, I answered your note to Jefferson. Of course I assured you of my very best services; but I preferred the Judgeship to the Mission.

Will the early friends of freedom be recognized at all?

There is no prospect that I shall go into the Cabinet. It is against my wish and for once, our over-the-left friends agree with me.

Gov. D,——* has appointed an ultra conservative set of Commissioners to Washington, it is said—I hope not truly—that I am the only man on it not prepared to go for the Border State compromise.

Your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

I go to Wash'n. tomorrow.
Gov. Dennison.

---

* Gov. Dennison. Chase became Secretary of the Treasury in Lincoln's Cabinet.

Columbus, Dec. 1, 1861.

My dear friend.

Yesterday your circular & address to the Duchess County I answered your note to Jefferson. Of course I answered in the affirmative & will prepare the Resolutions to the mission. Will the early friends of freedom be recognized at all?

There is no prospect that Ohio will go with the Cabinet. It is against my wishes and, for one, our voice the Republicans agree with me.

Gov D— has appointed an ultra conservative list of Commissioners to Washington. It is said — I believe truly — that I am the only man on it not prepared to go further than the Crittenden Compromise —

Yours truly

J R Giddings

Hon S Wade Washington

The following is a gem of a letter and from the pen of a man whose character and purpose were as clean cut as the script showing on the letter pages. Garrison was a journalist also, but of a different type from Greeley and Weed. In this letter, he knows he is addressing a kindred soul. Thru the years of the Anti-Slavery struggle they worked together in planting the seed and together witnessed the developed fruit of their labor.

Garrison was a man of great faith and of prophetic vision. His influence in the cause was the greatest of any one man.

BOSTON, April 4th, 1858.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held a few days since, I was unanimously requested, as a token of their appreciation of your protracted and unwearied labors in the cause of impartial freedom, to invite you to attend the anniversary of the society, to be held in the city of New York, on the 11th of May next, and to be one of the speakers on that occasion — uttering your own thought freely, and speaking upon any point of the great question that may be the most agreeable to you, without endorsing any of the special views of the society itself.

Of course, should you be able and disposed to comply with this invitation, your necessary expenses will be paid by the society with great pleasure. Should circumstances render it impracticable for you to be present, it would be very gratifying to the Committee to receive a letter from you, to be read at the meeting, covering as much ground as you choose.

In that case, by addressing the letter to me any time before the meeting, you will not only confer a special favor, but unquestionably by your testimony help to drive an additional nail into the coffin of the Slave-Power.

It gave me much pleasure to publish your recent speech in the House of Representatives, without abridgement in the Liberator. I was highly gratified with its high moral and religious tone, and its anti-slavery fidelity; especially with its clear and bold discrimination between primitive Christianity and American "Infidelity", alias the pro-slavery religion of our land which dares to assume the Christian name, while consenting to the horrible immolation of four million of our fellow-creatures on the bloody altar of slavery.

For almost thirty years, I have been earnestly laboring to vindicate Christianity, as taught by its revered founder, from the foul imputation of sanctioning slavery — the Bible from the perverse and monstrous interpretations of it, by the pro-slavery divines of our land —

and the dear God from the blasphemous charge that he has made one portion of his children to be the chattels of another.

Yet, what has been my religious reputation all that time? I am an "infidel" forsooth, and my assailants, whose hands and garments are dripping with innocent blood are the godly of the age! In this respect, however, I am in no worse plight than was the lowly Nazarene. In the stormy conflict thru which I have been called to pass — from the beginning to the end — I have been strengthened and sustained by the cheering words of Jesus — "If they have called the master of the house, Beelzebub, how much more will they call those of his household. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for so persecuted they the prophets who were before you."

Popularly speaking, while Christianity is in this land the synonym for oppression and the traffic in human flesh, and is made to uphold the most abominable system beneath the stars, I wish so to live and act as to be regarded and branded as an "infidel" by all its time-serving and corrupt supporters. "The Lord knoweth them that are his."

You have just witnessed a great triumph in the House in the virtual rejection of the atrocious Lecompton Constitution, by the adoption of the Crittenden amendment, etc. I see the Senate has since promptly and defiantly refused to accept the amendment; and now the anxious inquiry everywhere is, will the House recede? I have no doubt it will by a bare majority, in consequence of the tremendous pressure that will be brot to bear upon the Democratic portion of it by the Administration. But it may prove better than I fear.

I take, however, comparatively little interest in mere side issues. It is true, they have their relative importance for the hour, and must be vigorously met as they arise; but the real work to be done is the extinction of slavery in all the South, the extrication of the North from all responsibility for it, and the complete severance of free institutions from slave institutions. Our error, our weakness, our defeat, our demoralization are the natural and inevitable result of the attempt to protect and unite liberty and slavery in the same government, and under the same flag. You know my motto: — "No union with slave holders."

My health since January has been much impaired, but I am now on the recovery. Yours, I trust, is good, tho you doubtless need to guard yourself in every particular to prevent a serious attack of the illness to which you are so liable. Be prudent; avoid mental excitement as much as possible; remember "He serves who only stands and waits," and try to live to see the jubilee with your mortal eyes.

Yours to break every yoke,

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, April 4, 1858.

Dear Sir:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held a few days since, I was unanimously requested, as a token of their appreciation of your protracted and unwearied labors in the cause of impartial freedom, to ~~invite~~ request you to attend the anniversary of the Society, to be held in the city of New York, on the 11th of May next, and to be one of the speakers in that occasion — uttering your own thoughts freely, and speaking upon such points of the Great Question that may be most agreeable to you, without endorsing any of the special views of the Society itself. Of course, should you be able and disposed to comply with this invitation, your necessary expenses will be paid by the Society with great pleasure. Should circumstances render it impracticable for you to be present, it would be very gratifying to the Committee to receive a letter from you, to be read at the meeting, covering as much ground as you choose. In that case, by addressing the letter to me any time before the meeting, you will not only confer a special favor, but unquestionably by your testimony help to drive an additional nail into the coffin of the Slave Power.

It gave me much pleasure to publish your recent speech in the House of Representatives, without abridgment, in the Liberator. I was highly gratified with its high moral and religious tone, and its anti-slavery fidelity; especially with its clear and bold discrimination between primitive Chris-

tianity and American "Infidelity," alias the pro-slavery religion of our land which dares to assume the Christian name, while consenting to the horrible immolation of four millions of our fellow-creatures on the bloody altar of slavery. For almost thirty years, I have been earnestly laboring to vindicate Christianity, as taught by its revered founder, from the foul imputation of sanctioning slavery — the Bible from the perverse and monstrous interpretations of it, by the pro-slavery divines of our land — and the dear God from the blasphemous charge that he has made one portion of his children to be the chattels of another. Yet, what has been my religious reputation all that time? I am an "infidel," forsooth, and my assailants, whose hands and garments are dripping with innocent blood, are the godly of the age! In this respect, however, I am in no worse plight than was the despised Nazarene. In the stormy conflict through which I have been called to pass — from the beginning to the end — I have been strengthened and sustained by the cheering words of Jesus — "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? . . Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you." Popularly speaking, while Christianity is in this land the synonym for oppression and the traffic in human flesh, and is made to uphold the most abominable system beneath the stars, I wish so to live and act as to be regarded and branded as an "infidel" by all its time-serving and corrupt supporters. "The Lord knoweth them that are his."

You have just witnessed a great triumph in the House, in the virtual rejection of the atrocious Lecompton Constitution, by the adoption of Mr. Crittenden's amendment, & I see the Senate has since promptly and defiantly refused to accept the amendment; and now the anxious inquiry everywhere is, will the House recede? I have no doubt that it will, by a bare majority, in consequence of the tremendous pressure that will be brought to bear upon the Democratic portion of it by the Administration. But it may prove better than I fear.

I take, however, comparatively little interest in mere side issues. It is true, they have their relative importance for the time, and must be vigorously met as they arise; but the real work to be done is the extinction of slavery in all the states, the extrication of the North from all responsibility for it, and the complete severance of free institutions from slave institutions. Our error, our weakness, our defeat, our demoralization are the natural and inevitable results of the attempt to perpetuate Liberty and Slavery in the same government, and under the same flag. You know my motto: —"No Union with Slaveholders!"

My health since January has been much impaired, but I am now on the recovery. Yours, I trust, is good, though you doubtless need to guard yourself in every particular to prevent a serious attack of the illness to which you are so liable. Be prudent; avoid mental excitement as much as possible; remember—

"He truly serves who only stands and waits";

and try to live to see the jubilee with your mortal eyes.

Yours, to back every vote,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings.

Charles Sumner wrote the following letter in a moment when he felt that Mr. Giddings was in a precarious condition physically. It was but a few months after this was written that Mr. Giddings died. Sumner was one of the noblest friends and servants of humanity. He was one of the closest friends and advisers of Abraham Lincoln.

BOSTON, 26th July, 1863.

MY DEAR GIDDINGS: I am anxious about your health. Boy, how are you? Let me hear by a word from yourself, that you are well.

You must live to see slavery die, as die it must very soon. God bless you, who have done so much good work to prepare and guide our country.

I am pained by much that comes from England. The Press there is diabolical. The Govt. there has been sowing the wind.

Good bye! Ever sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The writers of these letters with Mr. Giddings and many others who might be named, were the founders of the Republican party; and the men who came to occupy distinguished places in that party owe the fact of their priority to the herculean struggle and sacrifice of men like Garrison, Sumner, and Giddings who split the rock, and cut the way into the regions beyond.

The last political stroke of the master hand was in the convention at Chicago when Abraham Lincoln, the Rail Splitter from Illinois, was chosen in preference to any of the men, upon whom it was supposed, the pillars of the government rested. Giddings was only a short period away from the end of his career. The short mission at Montreal was still ahead.

In the convention Giddings, though not a member of the resolutions committee, was successful in getting the following resolution entered upon the record and proclaimed as the feeling of the party as it went before the people.

"*Resolved,* That we deeply sympathise with those men who have been driven, some from their native states and others from the states of their adoption, and are now exiled from their homes on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for the gross violations of that clause of the Constitution which declares that

Boston 26th July '63

My dear Giddings,

I am anxious about your health. How have you been? Let me know by a word from yourself, that you are well.

You cannot live to see Slavery die — as die it will — more than I do. God bless you. You have done so much good work to prepare & guide our country!

I am pained by much that comes from England. The press there is diabolical. The Times there has been doing the work of Satan!

God bless you!

Ever sincerely Yours,

Charles Sumner

citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states."

This was a strong utterance to go before the country with, and was opposed by many, but there was a general feeling that the veteran's vision was clear and that the country would ratify his judgment; and it did. The sympathy of that resolution evolved into the principle of freedom that struck off the Emancipation Proclamation by the hand of Abraham Lincoln.

THE TORY PROPRIETORS OF KENTUCKY LANDS.

BY WILBUR H. SIEBERT.

Professor of European History, Ohio State University.

From the days of its earliest settlement down through the American Revolution, the Kentucky country was the scene of proprietary projects or hostile activities by Loyalists, several of whom were first connected with Fort Pitt and afterward with the British post at Detroit. It is needless to say that the hostile activities included more or less successful efforts at instigating Indian depredations against the Kentucky pioneers, and contemplated almost from the beginning Tory leadership for tribal contingents of sufficient size and bloodthirstiness to accomplish effectually the single but protracted task of freeing a favorite hunting ground from occupation by alien intruders and settlers, as viewed by the Indians, or of ridding the back country of dangerous rebels, as viewed by the resentless partisans of the crown. Such Tory leadership, we shall see further on, was to be provided, with serious consequences and even graver dangers for the colonists, after the flight of a group of Loyalist conspirators from Fort Pitt to Detroit in the spring of 1778.

The proprietary projects of these Loyalists began in July, 1773, with the survey of four thousand acres of land directly opposite to the Falls of the Ohio by Captain Thomas Bullitt for Dr. John Connolly, a resident near Fort Pitt, who had previously been a surgeon's mate with the British forces, and was now in a fair way to be rewarded for his past — and future — services by this substantial grant. Connolly's object was to found a town at the Falls, and to that end Captain Bullitt laid out a town plat in August. On the tenth of the following December, Governor Dunmore of Virginia issued a patent to Connolly for this land.[1]

[1] *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society,* Oct., 1909, 5, 29; R. T. Durrett, *Filson Club Publications No. 8: The Centenary of Louisville,* (Louisville, Ky., 1893), 23, 24, 26, 27, 131-133.

In less than two months thereafter Dunmore was employing the recipient of this patent, who was captain commandant of militia on the upper Ohio, to seize Fort Pitt and make it the judicial seat of a new country (West Augusta), in total disregard of Pennsylvania's prior authority in that region. Connolly also carried on aggressions against the neighboring Indians, but did not neglect to join with his colleague, Col. John Campbell, who had also received an extensive grant at the Falls, in advertising lots for sale in their prospective town in April, 1774. In the following June the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs at Fort Pitt, Capt. Alexander McKee, was recompensed for his services in the French and Indian War by a grant of two thousand acres, which was surveyed for him by James Douglas on the south branch of Elkhorn Creek. It was probably about the same time that Simon Girty, who was associated with these men as interpreter to the Six Nations, secured three tracts of three hundred acres each, all in the Kentucky country.[2]

Connolly was soon instructed by his patron to promote the royal interests among the tribesmen. Accordingly, in June, 1775, he met with the Delaware and Mingo chiefs and won them over, if we may credit his *Narrative*. He also asserts that he entered into a secret compact with a group of his friends, most of whom were militia officers and magistrates of West Augusta County, in support of the king, on condition that he should procure authority to raise men. It was in this season also that Connolly and Campbell sent a few men to occupy their lands at the Falls of the Ohio, these persons being instructed by Capt. Bullitt that they were to pay no attention to the title of the Transylvania Company, which had been secured by unauthorized purchase from the Indians. This was in keeping with Governor Dunmore's proclamation of the previous March, declaring the Company's purchase to be contrary to the regulations of the king and

[2] W. H. Siebert, "The Tories of the Upper Ohio" in *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.*, 1911-1914, (Charleston, W. Va., 1914), 38; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, (Madison, Wis., 1912) 184; *Filson Club Publications No. 8*, 28; R. T. Durrett, *Filson Club Publications No. 12: Bryant's Station* (Louisville, Ky., 1897), 30, n., 111, n.; *Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont.* (1904) Pt. II, 1282.

therefore illegal.[3] If Connolly could have carried out his project for this settlement, we may be sure that it would have resulted in the establishment of a Tory outpost at the Falls.[3]

Either before, or perhaps after, the inception of Connolly and Campbell's settlement, Joseph Browster, a Tory of Westmoreland County, Pa., went to Kentucky and, according to his widow's testimony in 1788, purchased a thousand acres of improved land. As he intended to remove to his new estate, he sold his farm in Pennsylvania and, while journeying to the West with his family, was attacked and forced to take refuge at St. Vincent. From this French village, or some other point, Browster atempted to go to Detroit, but was killed *en route* by his Indian guide. His family remained at St. Vincent for three years, and was then conducted to the British post by savages. In support of her testimony, which was given before the British commissioners for the settlement of Loyalist claims, Mrs. Browster produced a brief letter from Dr. Connolly to the effect that at one time he had suffered imprisonment with Joseph Browster, and that the latter had been murdered by Indians while on his way to Detroit.[4]

Late in May, 1775, the House of Delegates of the Transylvania Company held its session at Boonesborough. One of the delegates from Harrodsburg was the Rev. John Lythe of the Anglican church, who conducted a religious service on Sunday, the twenty-seventh, under an ancient elm in the hollow where the House had been assembling. Here, in the presence of Episcopalians and Dissenters alike, the customary prayers for the king and royal family of England were recited for the only time, so far as known, on Kentucky soil. Within the week following the news of the battle of Lexington was brought to Boonesborough and its three sister settlements on the south side of the Kentucky River, evoking at once the undivided sympathy

[3] *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.*, 1911-1914, 38; G. W. Ranck, *Filson Club Publications No. 16: Boonesborough* (Louisville, Ky., 1901), 180-183; *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society*, Oct., 1909, 15.

[4] *Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont.* (1904), Pt. I, 477.

of the colonists, including their frontier missionary, for the revolutionists.[5]

When, therefore, one of Dunmore's emissaries, Dr. John F. D. Smyth, rode into Boonesborough on June 8, he found conditions anything but favorable to imparting his true business even to his host, Judge Richard Henderson, the head of the Transylvania Company, but explained that he was gathering material for a book of travels. With more frankness, however, the observant gleaner recorded in his notes that these woodsmen were too proud and insolent "to be styled servants even of His Majesty". During his sojourn of several weeks Smyth visited the Shawnee and other Ohio Indians with the purpose of securing their cooperation with the Loyalists in stamping out rebellion in the West.[6]

About the time that Smyth left the Kentucky Valley, Connolly disbanded the garrison under his command, and went to see Dunmore at Norfolk, Va. The latter sent him on to Boston, Mass., to submit his plans to Gen. Gage, for they involved securing the necessary aid of the Canadian and Indian forces that might be supplied by Detroit, as also of the garrison from Kaskasia on the Illinois, the Ohio tribes, a battalion of Loyalists and some independent companies to be raised by Connolly in western Pennsylvania, and the militia of Augusta County, Va. With these forces at his disposal and a suitable commission, Connolly proposed to destroy Forts Pitt and Fincastle, penetrate Virginia, and form a junction with Dunmore at Alexandria, thereby splitting the colonies in twain and giving the preponderance to the royal cause in the South. After a prolonged stay in Boston, which did not escape the knowledge of Washington's staff in the neighboring town of Cambridge, Connolly returned to Virginia, and received a warrant as lieutenant colonel commandant from Dunmore. Then, in company with Smyth and Allen Cameron, he started, November 13, on his overland journey for Detroit. Surely, his plans were prospering.[7]

[5] *Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 28, 30, 31.

[6] *Ibid.,* 32, 33.

[7] *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society,* Oct., 1909, 17-19; *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.,* 1911-1914, 29, 40.

Since his departure from Fort Pitt, however, the success which Connolly believed himself to have attained in his conference with the Mingo and Delaware chiefs had been counteracted for a time by the mission in July, 1775, of Dr. Thomas Walker and Capt. James Woods to the Shawnee, Wyandot, Ottawa, Delaware and Mingo towns. At the instance of the West Augusta committee of correspondence, these tribes, together with the Senecas, were invited to meet with the commissioners of Congress at Pittsburgh in the autumn. There a treaty of peace and neutrality was signed between the Western Indians and the new American nation.[8] Thus, a considerable part of the forces on which Connolly counted for the execution of his comprehensive plan was eliminated for an indefinite period.

This was despite the efforts of the British commandant at Detroit who, on learning that the council was to be held, hastened to summon the savages from Upper Sandusky and its vicinity in order to urge them not to attend, but join him until the subjugation of the colonists by the king's army and navy when, he added, we shall "have their plantations to ourselves". Not content with this direct appeal to a limited number of tribesmen, the Detroit officer had the chief of the Wyandots dispatch a delegation of his own braves, together with a few Ottawas, to the Shawnee villages of Chief Cornstalk to persuade them that the proposed treaty would not protect them from an early attack by the whites. Cornstalk reported this incident to the commissioners of Congress at Pittsburgh, as well as its sequel, namely, that several of the visiting Indians, accompanied by two young Shawnee guides, proceeded thence to the Kentucky River. It became known later that this spying party included the son of "Capt." Pluggy, the Mohawk leader of a band of miscreants living on the upper Olentangy, and that they fired on three persons near Boonesborough, December 23, 1775.[9]

By this time greater misfortune had overtaken Connolly and his companions: they were now in jail at Frederick Town, having been arrested near Hager's Town more than a month before.

[8] Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va., 1911-1914, 40.

[9] Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, Wis.), 100, 102, 143; *Filson Club Publications No. 16*, 45, 46.

The local committee of safety had learned from an American officer, just returned from Cambridge, Mass., of the conspirator's recent visit to Boston, and had secured conclusive evidence against the trio through the discovery of a copy of Connolly's "proposals". Thereupon they had reported their capture to Congress, and were ordered to send their prisoners under guard to Philadelphia. To the great chagrin of the committee, however, Smyth escaped on the night before the date set for the departure of the culprits, which was December 29. He carried with him letters from Connolly to his wife and Capt. McKee at Fort Pitt, Capt. Lord at Kaskasia, and Capt. Lernoult at Detroit. The letters to the two latter besought them to "push down the Mississippi and join Lord Dunmore." But on January 12, 1776, Smyth was retaken by a party from Fort Pitt, after he had succeeded in crossing the Allegheny Mountains in the depth of winter. As he still had the letters on his person, he was conducted to Philadelphia, where he shared the imprisonment of his two colleagues.[10]

The failure of these Tory leaders to reach Detroit did not prevent the authorities there from seeking to undermine the neutrality of the Western tribes. In May, 1776, information was being circulated as far away as in southeastern Virginia that the Wyandot, Ottawa, and other Indians had recently been at Detroit, where they had received presents; and the militia officer imparting this news said that they would probably be troublesome during the summer. In fact, their depredations in Kentucky continued throughout the year, becoming so ominous as to cause the abandonment of McClelland's Station, the last fort north of the Kentucky River, at the end of December.[11]

The petitions which the inhabitants of "Transylvania" presented to the Virginia Convention in May and June, 1776, show that the people wanted steps taken both "to prevent the inroads of Savages" and also to keep their outlying district from becom-

[10] *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society,* Oct., 1909, 19-22; *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.,* 1911-1914, 40, 41.

[11] *Revolution on the Upper Ohio,* 175, n. 6, 177, n. 11, 187, 188; J. G. M. Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee,* (Philadelphia, 1853), 148, 149; *Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 49-52, 54.

ing the refuge of Loyalists. They could see no hope of protection in a proprietary government that was without an organized militia. They regarded as illegal the king's proclamation excluding settlers from the region they had entered, and denounced the ministerial policy which would delay the erection of "West Fincastle" into a new county of Virginia. The observance of such restrictions, the petitioners pointed out, would bring it to pass that "this immense and fertile country would afford a safe asylum to those whose principles are inimical to American liberty." These arguments produced the desired result, Kentucky County being one of three new divisions created by act of December 7, 1776." [12]

Whatever advantages a separate county organization may have secured to the inhabitants of the new district, certain conditions were developing to the northward from which no such device could shield their remote part of the frontier. One of these conditions was the increase in size and daring of the warbands, as at Boonesborough, April 24, 1777, when "the big fort" was actually attacked for the first time, by a party numbering from fifty to one hundred warriors, and again early in July, when it was besieged for two days and nights by two hundred Indians. Another of the menacing conditions was the fact that Lieut. Governor Henry Hamilton at Detroit received definite permission from Governor-General Haldimand at Quebec in June, 1777, to employ savages against the Americans. A third condition was fully revealed late in September when the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, told Capt. Matthew Arbuckle at Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) of the warlike disposition of the Indians, including his own nation, adding that although he was himself opposed to joining the war on the side of the British, he could only "run with the stream". This admission convinced Arbuckle that all of the Shawnees had gone over to the enemy, and he therefore detained Cornstalk and two of his braves as hostages. Shortly after the chief's son had come to visit his father, a member of the garrison was murdered by lurking Indians, where-

[12] J. R. Robertson, ed., *Filson Club Publications No. 27* (Louisville, Ky., 1914), 38, 39; Hening's *Statutes*, IX, 257; *Filson Club Publications No. 16*, 48, 54.

upon the soldiers became infuriated and avenged themselves upon the four Shawnees. Governor Patrick Henry fancied this unjustifiable deed to be "the work of Tories", who had taken this method to embroil the backwoodsmen in strife with the Indians and so keep them from going to the aid of Washington.[13]

Governor Henry was correct at least in this, that the murder of the hostages would bring on hostilities with their tribe. Indeed, such hostilities had resulted nearly a fortnight before the Governor had expressed his opinion in the surrender of Daniel Boone and his camp of salt-makers at the Lower Blue Licks on February 7 and 8, 1778. But for us the interesting thing about the expedition which gained this success is that it was undertaken on the initiative of the Detroit authorities, who sent two French Canadians to engage four or five score of the Shawnees in an attempt to seize Boonesborough. Several of Boone's contemporaries were so dissatisfied with his action in persuading the other salt-makers to surrender peaceably after his own capture, that they charged him later with being a Loyalist and a traitor. The Shawnees took their captives to Little Chillicothe on the Little Miami, and then part of the tribe started for Detroit, March 10, in company with eleven of the whites, including Boone. At the Northern post the famous Kentuckian was presented with a horse and trappings by Hamilton, while his companions were sold for ranson-money. It was on this horse that Boone escaped from his captors in the following June, bringing intelligence of a new expedition which the Shawnees had in contemplation.[14]

This proposed foray was to be directed against Boonesborough, in order to avenge the tribe for an unsuccessful attack upon Donnelly's Fort on the Greenbriar River, from which one

[13] *Revolution on the Upper Ohio,* 236, 237, n. 80, 242, n. 85, 247; *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va., 1911-1914,* 41, 42; *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio,* 149, 150, 157-163, 169, 175-177, 205, 207, 208; R. G. Thwaites, *Withers's Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Cincinnati, 1917), 173, n., 209, 211-214, 236, 266; *Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 56-61.

[14] *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio,* 205, 207, 208, 252, n. 7, 283, n. 42; *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare, 265-267; Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 64-69, 104, 105.

of their war parties had returned on June 15. It was not until after Clark's capture of Vincennes, however, that steps were taken to carry out the expedition. But again, as in the previous February, the movement was organized by French Canadians under orders from Detroit. These Canadians, who belonged to the Detroit militia, were led by Lieut. Antoine De Quindre, and assisted Chief Black Fish in assembling a force of almost four hundred and fifty Indians, mostly Shawnees, whom they supplied with a stock of ammunition and the English and French flags that were intended so to impress the inhabitants of Boonesborough that they would capitulate at once. On arriving at the fort, September 7, 1778, a messenger was sent forward to announce that Governor Hamilton had entrusted letters to his representatives with the Indian army for Capt. Boone, and to ask a parley for the consideration of their contents. This was granted and on the following evening, after Boone had told Black Fish that the garrison would defend themselves to the last man, De Quindre reopened negotiations and succeeded in getting the principal men of the fort to sign a treaty on the tenth, renouncing allegiance to the United States and renewing their fealty to the king, on condition that the Indians would withdraw at once. This was evidently all in accordance with the plan of Hamilton, who believed from what Boone had told him at Detroit that the Kentucky settlers were already in a starving and nearly naked condition, and were withot the prospect of relief from Congress. "Their dilemma", he wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, April 25, 1778, "will probably induce them to trust to the savages, who have shown so much humanity to their prisoners, and come to this place before winter." But the Lieut. Governor's plan to convert the garrison mto Loyalists, and thus open the way for their reception at Detroit was, according to the evidence, doomed to failure from the start. The fort had but two score effective defenders, and Boone had used stratagem in the hope of ridding the place of a foe eleven times as numerous. After the signing of the treaty, however, the redmen tried to detain the whites during the ceremony of handshaking; but the latter tore themselves away and ran back into their stronghold, which was then assailed repeatedly, though unsuccessfully. As a final means of

capturing the place, the Indians dug a tunnel from the bank of the Kentucky River to a distance of about forty yards, or two-thirds of the way from the stream. But their scheme was frustrated by successive rainstorms, which caused sections of the mine to cave in. Altogether the garrison had withstood investment for nine days and nights, when the Indian army broke into detachments for the purpose of pillaging and ravaging about other stations.[15]

Shortly after this siege Boone was tried by court martial at Logan's Station on the charge of making treasonable attempts to aid the British in favoring the peace treaty at Boonesborough, in surrendering the salt-makers on the Lower Blue Licks, and on still another count. His immediate accuser was Col. Richard Callaway; but he cleared himself by explaining that these acts were deceptions and stratagems dictated by military necessity, and practiced for the advantage of the settlers. That his conduct was not deemed reprehensible by his superior officers is shown by his promotion a little later to the rank of major.[16]

If the year 1778 was marked by Lieut. Governor Hamilton's policy of detailing French-Canadians to organize and accompany Indian expeditions against Kentucky, the next two years were characterized by an astonishing increase in the population of that country and the employment of border Loyalists, who held large landed interests south of the Ohio, to lead the war bands thither. This change in leadership was made possible by the flight of Capt. Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, and several others from Fort Pitt on the night of March 28, 1778, the fugitives arriving at Detroit about two months later. Becoming deeply involved in a Tory plot at the former post, their machinations had been discovered and suppressed in the previous summer. At Detroit, Girty was appointed interpreter in the secret service, Elliott, captain in the Indian department, and McKee, deputy agent for Indian affairs. In the following August, they were joined by James Girty, who came in

[15] *Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 68-104; *Withers's Chronicles of Border Warfare,* 268-270; *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio,* 283, 284; *Filson Club Publications No. 27,* 44, 45.

[16] *Filson Club Publications No. 16,* 104, 105.

from the Shawnee village of Old Chillicothe, and was made interpreter to the Shawnees. Nine months later George Girty appeared, bringing a party of deserters from Kaskasia, and was likewise appointed an interpreter.[17] For the next seventeen months these Loyalists were permitted to direct their poorly aided efforts to restoring the king's authority in the Pittsburgh region. Then, having failed in that quarter, they turned their attention to the Kentucky domain, which was now beginning to attract thousands of immigrants from the older settlements, including those of the upper Ohio.

Contemporary mention of this westward migration throws considerable light on its magnitude and character. Early in August, 1779, Col. Daniel Brodhead wrote from Fort Pitt that the inhabitants were so intent on removing to Kentucky that there would be few volunteers. In March, 1780, Col. Richard Campbell of the Ninth Virginia Regiment recommended to Washington the removal of his men from Pittsburgh, because they were constantly deserting to share in the settlement of the Kentucky lands. In the following May, Brodhead informed the Rev. John Heckewelder that by fall "the settlements of Kentucky" would be able to turn out fifteen thousand men, and that the villainous Shawnees and their allies would soon find troublesome neighbors in that quarter. Despite this exodus, Col. Brodhead was convinced by disclosures of new Tory activities in his neighborhood that there was still "a great number of disaffected inhabitants on this side of the mountain who wish for nothing more than a fair opportunity to submit to the British government." Still, one must believe that not a few of these Loyalists, who were unable to keep their plans hidden, took advantage of the westward migration to go to Kentucky. That such was the case is indicated by a visitor to that region, who wrote to Col. George Morgan late in 1780: "Should the English go there and offer them protection from the Indians, the greatest part will join".[18]

[17] *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.*, 1911-1914, 42-45, 47; Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, (Madison, Wis., 1917)*, 299, n. 1.

[18] *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 21, 22, 41, 149, 163, 164, 168, 176, 277.

It was early in this period of movement to the new country, namely, in the latter part of May, 1779, that John Bowman, lieutenant of Kentucky County, undertook an offensive at the head of more than two hundred and fifty volunteers against the Shawnee town of Little Chillicothe on the Little Miami. After beginning the attack the whites, who were partly from Bowman's district and partly from the upper valleys, were thrown into general disorder by the false report that Simon Girty and one hundred Shawnees were hastening from Piqua to the relief of the place. However, they soon recovered themselves, defeated the enemy which numbered less than half their own strngth, burned most of the village and crops, and carried off a great quantity of plunder.[19]

The first expedition actually conducted by the Girtys against Kentucky, so far as recorded, took place in the following autumn, when James and George advanced with about one hundred and seventy Wyandot warriors from Upper Sandusky down the valley of the Little Miami to the spot where Cincinnati now stands. Here, on October 4, they discovered Col. David Rogers' flotilla of five boats ascending the Ohio with a large store of goods and ammunition from St. Louis. Some fifty of Rogers' men landed at once to attack the foe, but were quickly driven back to their barges, most of which the Indians succeeded in boarding. Only one, which was defended by thirteen soldiers, managed to escape. About forty of the whites were killed, while a rich supply of booty and a few prisoners fell into the hands of the victors.[20] Thenceforth, the savages became very troublesome and small skirmishes became so common, according to Col. George Rogers Clark, as to receive little notice.

Tory leadership had proved so successful in this first instance in Kentucky annals, that it is not surprising to find it being again employed in the following summer. Lieut. Governor Hamilton had surrendered to Clark at Vincennes, February 25, 1780, and been taken to Virginia as a prisoner. Hence, Major A. S. De Peyster had been transferred from the British

[19] *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare,* 271-273.

[20] C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1893), 113; *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio,* 17, 79-94, 105, 123.

post at Michilimacinac to Detroit. He was eager to regain what his predecessor had lost, and to that end dispatched a body of troops and Indians to the Illinois, while seeking to engage the attention of Clark and the Kentuckians by an expedition to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville). He placed Capt. Henry Bird, a Virginia Loyalist, in command of the latter enterprise, with the three Girtys as aides. On leaving Detroit, Capt. Bird's force consisted of one hundred and fifty Canadians and Loyalists and one hundred tribesmen from the Upper Lakes, carrying two field-pieces; but they were joined on the Miami by Capt. McKee and six hundred Indians. When the savages learned on the march that Clark was in command at the Falls, they refused to try a battle with him, and insisted on being led against the forts up the Licking. Although mutinous, they were wise, for the sound of their cannon was alone sufficient to secure the immediate surrender of Ruddle's Station, with its three hundred inmates, on June 22. After killing all the cattle at this place, the Indians and their allies marched five miles farther to Martin's Station where, with equal ease, they gained fifty more prisoners. A famine now ensued and terminated an invasion that might, except for the self-imposed loss of the animals at Ruddle's, have uprooted the Kentucky settlements. As it was, Bird and his white contingent, together with Capt. Isaac Ruddle's company as prisoners, were constrained to return to their boats; by means of which they descended the Licking to the Ohio, and thence passed up the Great Miami on their way to Detroit. Here Ruddle and his men remained in captivity until November 3, 1782. The Indians, with their share of the prisoners, crossed the Ohio River, and proceeded in small parties to their several villages.[21]

The readiness with which the occupants of the two stations on the Licking surrendered is explicable by reason of the superior strength of the attacking force, supported, as it was, by the two cannon which Capt. Bird had brought from Detroit; but there were those of the time who attributed the double disaster to

[21] *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 192; *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 254, n. 285, 286, 294-299; *Filson Club Publications No. 16*, 118, 119; *ibid. No. 27*, 168.

widespread disaffection among the settlers, many of whom refused to volunteer for offensive operations, choosing rather to remove "into the interior" than take part in the common defense against the Loyalists and Indians.[22]

Meantime, in May, 1779, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act concerning escheats and forfeitures, by which the already sequestered estates of Britons and Loyalists were to be condemned by escheators and sold. A year later it was represented to the Assembly that there were crtain lands within the county of Kentucky, "formerly belonging to British subjects, not yet sold under the Law of Escheats and Forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth." In accordance with this suggestion, therefore, the Assembly now enacted a law vesting eight thousand acres of these forfeited lands in a board of thirteen trustees "as a free donation from the Commonwealth for the purpose of a public school or Seminary of Learning," to be erected in Kentucky County "as soon as the circumstances of the county and the state of the funds" would admit. This grant comprised, as it happened, the two thousand acres of Alexander McKee on the south branch of Elkhorn Creek in the newly created county of Fayette, besides two other surveys of three thousand acres each, one near Lexington formerly belonging to Henry Collins, and the other, called the Military Survey, at the mouth of Harrod's Creek in Jefferson County, lately the property of Robert McKenzie.[23]

Thus far Dr. John Connolly's survey of two thousand acres opposite to the Falls of the Ohio had escaped forfeiture. But on May 1, 1780, the inhabitants of this locality, who had recently laid out a town in half-acre lots, built houses and occupied them, or in some cases had sold out to newcomers, petitioned the Assembly at Richmond, Va., to pass an act establishing their town as planned and validating their titles, on the score that intending settlers were declining to buy lots because the land "above the

[22] *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 22, 186, 187, 265, 266.

[23] Hening's *Statutes, IX*, 377; *X*, 67; H. J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, 187, 188; Robert Peter and Joanna Peter, *Filson Club Publications No. 11*, (Louisville, Ky., 1896), 18, 19; *ibid., No. 27*, 69, 70.

mouth of a gutt that makes into the river opposite the falls" had been surveyed and patented for Connolly, and would be subject to escheat and sale. The petitioners argued that the new town would be of great advantage to the people of Kentucky, and that its plan was conducive to its growth into a populous and commercial center, which would afford security "from any hostile intentions of the Indians." In compliance with this petition, the General Assembly passed an act, July 1, 1780, establishing the town of Louisville, designating ten men to serve as its trustees, clearing doubtful titles by vesting them with one thousand acres of Connolly's survey, and authorizing the sale of lots at auction, on condition that if they brought thirty dollars the money should be paid into the treasury of the Commonwealth.[24]

The same day on which this act was passed, but quite independently of its adoption, an escheating jury met at Lexington, Ky., and rendered a verdict of forfeiture against Connolly, who was still under restraint at Philadelphia as a prisoner of Congress, but was to be permitted to go to the British at New York within a few days, in anticipation of his exchange later in the year. Curiously enough, Daniel Boone, notwithstanding the charge previously made against him of trying to aid the crown, was a member of this jury, which decided that Connolly was the owner of the land at the Falls on July 4, 1776, and that he had of his own free will joined the subjects of the English king by April 19, 1775, the date fixed in the law of escheats and forfeitures.[25]

That there were Loyalists nearer home than Connolly, McKee, and the others, whose Kentucky estates had now been confiscated, was revealed by the expedition against the Shawnees made during the first week of August, 1780, by Cols. Clark, Slaughter, and Logan, with nearly a thousand men, in retaliation for the descent on Ruddle's and Martin's stations. They found Chillicothe largely deserted and still burning, and their move-

[24] R. T. Durrett, *Filson Club Publications No. 8: The Centenary of Louisville* (Louisville, Ky., 1893) 50-52, 149-154; *No. 27*, 53-55; Hening's *Statutes*.

[25] *Filson Club Publications No. 8*, 54-56; *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.*, 1911-1914, 41.

ments thoroughly understood by the foe. Nevertheless, in the fighting that took place the Kentuckians acquitted themselves with such daring that James Girty, who was in command of three hundred warriors, retired with his contingent rather than encounter "fools and madmen." In one of the huts the invaders discovered a Frenchman who admitted that a deserter from Col. Logan's division had come in from the mouth of the Licking and joined the Indians, whom he warned of their danger.[26]

Although smaller or larger bands of savages were "striking somewhere in Kentucy" during the autumn of 1780 and the open season of 1781, it was not until September of the latter year that they were again led by a Loyalist. About the middle of the month just named Capt. McKee, who was now accompanied by Chief Brant, head of the Six Nations, ally of Maj. John Butler's Tory rangers at Fort Niagara, and wily leader of formidable scalping parties on the New York frontier, appeared at Boone's Station (where Shelbyville now stands) at the head of strong contingents of Hurons and Miamis, and there defeated Col. John Floyd with a company of men from his own and other stations on Beargrass Creek, imposing a loss of half this force. Brant's presence is explained by the fact that he had been sent early in April, with seventeen of his tribesmen on a mission to McKee and the Western Indians by Col. Guy Johnson, the Loyalist superintendent of the Indian department at Niagara. It was McKee's wish to conclude the present campaign with an assault on Boonesborough; but his unruly warriors chose to return at once to their villages.[27]

Whatever successes the Indians won by themselves during this period, and they were generally minor ones, it is worth remarking that thus far the savages had usually been signally victorious when Loyalists served as their captains. That the Kentucky settlements would have fared far worse, perhaps suffering general annihilation, if the savages had been amenable to ordinary military discipline, is a view in support of wich much may

[26] *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare,* 305-308; *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio,* 234, 235, n. 98.

[27] *Filson Club Publications No. 8,* 57-59; *ibid., No. 12,* 84; *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio,* 374, 375.

be said. Certainly, in June, 1782, the Indians threw away their final chance of spreading desolation among the pioneers south of the Ohio. At that time Simon and George Girty, Matthew Elliott, and Alexander McKee met Capt. William Caldwell and Capt. Andrew Bradt with sixty Tory rangers from Detroit and eleven hundred redmen of eight different nations, including the Delawares, at Wakitamiki (now Zanesfield, Logan County, O.). This host first advanced to the main camp of the Shawnees at Old Chillicothe, in expectation of destroying an invading force under Col. George Rogers Clark. It was, according to McKee, the greatest body of Indians that had been assembled in this quarter since the beginning of the war. At any rate, it seems to have outnumbered slightly the whole force of fighting men in Kentucky at this time, which has been estimated at about one thousand.[28]

Disappointed in their plan of overwhelming Clark, who was nowhere in the neighborhood, all the tribesmen except a few hundreds (Caldwell, the commanding officer of the expedition, says less than three hundred) scattered to their villages. The others were induced by Simon Girty to accompany the Tory rangers in a descent upon Bryant's Station. After crossing the Ohio a decoy detachment was sent to threaten Hoy's Station, a few miles south of Boonesborough, and was pursued by Capt. John Holder with men from his own and other stations. Before sunset on August 15, a messenger brought to Bryant's the news of Holder's defeat at the Upper Blue Licks; but while the little garrison there were still preparing to go to the defense of Hoy's Station, they discovered that they were facing a siege themselves, and despatched couriers to the other settlements in their own behalf. In this way they were soon able to increase their strength to one hundred and thirty-five men, in spite of the partly successful efforts of the besiegers to shoot or drive away those coming in to the relief of the place. After the Indians had destroyed the crops, killed the livestock, and burned several cabins of the settlement, Simon Girty, who is said to

[28] *Filson Club Publications No. 12.* 87-90, 134-156; E. P. Durrett. "Girty the White Indian" in *Magazine of American History*, March 1886; Butterfield, *History of the Girtys,* 193, 194, 198, 200, 205, 208.

have come provided with a proclamation guaranteeing pardon and protection to all who would swear allegiance to the crown, offered the inmates safety, if they would capitulate. But he was refused and decamped with his force on the night of the sixteenth, taking the road back to the Blue Licks. He states that nearly one hundred warriors left him at this time. One hundred and eighty-two Kentuckians followed in pursuit of the invaders and on August 19 crossed the Licking River, only to fall into an ambuscade on the height of the open ridge in front. The Tories and Indians were concealed in the wooded ravines nearby. Of the advancing party, most of whom had dismounted, about forty were killed at the first volley. Some thirty more were overtaken by the savages, now astride the Kentuckians' horses, and laid low with tomahawk and hunting knife. The majority of those who escaped owed their preservation to Maj. Benjamin Netherland, who dismounted on reaching the west bank of the Licking and ordered his fellow-horsemen to turn and fire on the pursuing Indians. The latter were thus driven to cover long enough to enable many of the fugitives to regain the opposite bank and disappear in the woods and thickets beyond, whence they fled back to the stations. On the next day the Indians, laden with the plunder of the battlefield, crossed the Ohio with their Tory leaders and allies. The former proceeded to their camps, while the latter went back to Wakitamiki. It was from there on August 26 that Caldwell wrote to the Detroit authorities his exaggerated report of the success gained under his command. McKee's report was directed to Major de Peyster from the "Shawnee country" two days later. Like Caldwell's letter, it multiplied the number of Kentuckians killed and captured by two, and probably Matthew Elliott, who carried this report to its destination, was instructed to confirm the doubled figures.[29]

By this time Sir Guy Carleton, who had recently been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, issued his manifesto ordering a cessation of Indian depredations, which reached the West just after the return of Caldwell's exultant expedition from the Blue Licks. The instructions sent from

[29] *Filson Club Publications No. 12,* 91-123, 157-209, 211-215.

Detroit by De Peyster to McKee and Bradt directed them thereafter "not to make any incursions into the enemy's country.". These instructions, however, did not arrive in time to prevent a raid against Fort Henry at Wheeling by Bradt, with his Loyalists and a considerable body of Indians; nor did they stop the Kentuckians from demanding a retaliatory invasion of the Indian country under the command of Col. George Rogers Clark.

With a thousand and fifty mounted riflemen, Clark set out from the mouth of the Licking on November 4, 1782, and six days later he surprised the settlement of the Miamis, from which the savages fled in consternation, while their town and their winter stores were utterly destroyed. Despite the endeavors of McKee, the Indians could not be persuaded to encounter the frontiersmen who, "after . . . . finding all attempts to bring them to a general action fruitless," in the words of Clark himself, retired on account of the lateness of the season. To this blow, as well as to Carleton's manifesto, is to be attributed the termination of formidable incursions of Kentucky by the Indians. Occasional forays from the northwest and outrages by Ohio savages continued, however, as long as the Northern posts remained in the hands of the British, that is, until 1796.[30]

The tale of Connolly's interest in Kentucky affairs has not yet been concluded. Duly exchanged in October, 1780, while he was in New York, Connolly was soon appointed a lieutenant colonel in the Queen's Rangers and sailed with that Loyalist regiment to Yorktown in December. Shortly after his arrival in the South he was placed in command of the Tories of Virginia and North Carolina on the peninsula formed by the James River and Chesapeake Bay. In September, 1781, he was again taken prisoner, and three months later was sent to Philadelphia, where he was kept in jail until March. He was then paroled and allowed to go to New York, on condition of his taking passage for England, which he did at once. After remaining in London for some time, occupying himself meanwhile with efforts to secure compensation for his losses and services as a Loyalist and in devising plans for the recovery of America to the British

[30] *Publications of the Filson Club No. 6*, 50, 56; *ibid., No. 8*, 59, 62; *ibid., No. 16*, 130-132.

crown, he recrossed the Atlantic and was in Quebec in the winter of 1787-88. Thence he proceeded to Detroit, where he met his relative, Alexander McKee, who was now deputy superintendent general of the Indian Department, and his old Pittsburgh acquaintance, Matthew Elliott, who was serving as superintendent of Indian affairs. He must have come in contact also with the Girtys, who were still in and about Detroit and whom he had known at Fort Pitt.[31]

Connolly soon reported that he had learned from a man sent by him to Pittsburgh that the people of Kentucky wished to declare their independence of the United States Government. Whether this was true or not, it appears that he had received advances from General Samuel Holden Parsons, who was concerned in the establishment of a new colony on the Ohio, relative to an arrangement with Great Britain for keeping the Mississippi River open to the western trade. These advances evidently presented to Connolly's mind the prospect of the overthrow of Spanish power in Louisiana and the establishment of a British protectorate over Kentucky and the lower country, if proper steps were taken. At any rate, the possibilities of a negotiation were too alluring to be resisted, and Connolly obtained permission to visit Kentucky "in order to draw out propositions from men of character." Setting out from Detroit, he travelled through the woods to the mouth of the Big Miami River and thence by boat down the Ohio to Louisville, where he arrived on October 25, 1788. He came ostensibly to look after his confiscated estate, but in reality to discover the attitude of leading Kentuckians towards the proposal, which he made in the name of the Canadian governor-general, Lord Dorchester (formerly Sir Guy Carleton), to assist the westerners with a military and naval force in securing control of the Mississippi and New Orleans. Honors, rewards, and military rank in the British army were to be bestowed upon such influential inhabitants of Kentucky as would raise a force, to be paid, armed, and equipped by Dorchester, who would also send from five thousand to ten

[31] *Biennial Report, Archives and History, W. Va.*, 1911-1914, 41; *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society*, Oct., 1909, (Worcester, Mass.) 32, 36.

thousand men by way of the Miami and Wabash rivers to join the Kentucky contingent in moving upon New Orleans, where a British fleet would cooperate with the forces from the northward.[32]

Before the end of October Connolly submitted these plans to Col. Thomas Marshall and Judge George Muter at a joint interview in Lexington, being introduced by Col. John Campbell who, according to Marshall, had previously communicated the proposition Connolly was about to make. In a letter to Washington of February 12, 1789, Thomas Marshall wrote that he told Dorchester's emissary of the people's prejudice against the British, "not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us; and that so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenseless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his profession be ever so strong....." Connolly visited Gen. James Wilkinson in Lexington on November 8, and was told not only that "the British were greatly disliked in Kentucky," but also that Wilkinson was afraid that the people would kill him if he did not escape at once. Connolly asked for an escort, which was provided, and he recrossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit, November 20. The only other prominent Kentuckian to whom Connolly divulged his mission was Gen. Charles Scott, but when and where this interview took place is unknown to the present writer.[33]

That Connolly remained in and about Detroit for some months after his return from the South is shown by the fact that he entered a petition for land east of the Detroit River, along with the other refugees from Fort Pitt and the many Loyalists then preparing to settle in that region. A schedule

[32] *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society,* Oct., 1909, 32-35; *Filson Club Publications No. 6,* 182-184.

[33] *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society,* Oct., 1909, 33-35; *Letters to Washington,* IV, 250; Butler's *Kentucky,* 184; *Filson Club Publications No. 6,* 183, n.

of these petitions, which were received by the Land Board for the District of Hesse, Ont., gives that of Connolly under date of July 2, 1790, and locates the tract for which a grant is asked on Lake Erie in the Fish Creek Division. Alexander McKee was a member of this land board, whose records show that Matthew Elliott, George and James Girty, Capt. Bird, Capt. Caldwell, and McKee himself were locating lands in the same neighborhood, while Simon Girty was taking up a tract of one thousand acres on the north side of the River La Tranche or Thames. George and James Girty appear to have applied for additional grants near their brother's location, but are recorded on December 20, 1793, as having "left the country." Elliott's grant in Malden Township amounted to three thousand acres.[34]

Only about a fortnight before Lieut. Col. Connolly came to Lexington for his illuminating interview with Judge Muter and Col. Marshall, the trustees of the escheated lands of McKee, Collins, and McKenzie had met, appointed a professor, and selected a committee "to rent convenient houses in or near the town of Lexington" for the purpose of the seminary which they were now ready to open (October 15, 1788). By a law of 1783 the number of trustees had been increased to twenty-five, their powers had been enlarged, and the endowment of the proposed school had been supplemented by a provision that the institution designated by the act the "Transylvania Seminary", should receive all the escheated lands in the District of Kentucky, not to exceed twenty thousand acres, which should be exempt from taxation. The trustees, president, and professors were to take the oath of allegiance to the government; but both officers and students were to be free from military duty. On June 6, 1789, the opening of the school was advertised in the *Kentucky Gazette*.[35]

The circulation of the news of this event secured some pupils; but it may also have stimulated a claimant into action, for in the following November William McKenzie petitioned the General Assembly of Virginia for compensation for the three

[34] *Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont.*, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), 1-20, 29, 30, 248, 272, 281.

[35] *Filson Club Publications No. 11*, 20-22, 38-41.

thousand acres of the Military Survey on the north side of Harrod's Creek, which was a part of the seminary's original endowment, on the score that the petitioner was the nearest relative of the former owner, Robert McKenzie. According to the endorsement on the back of the petition the matter was referred to the courts of justice for decision; but whether or not a suit was ever brought does not appear. The dispossessed and now deceased owner of this land had served as a captain in the Virginia regiment commanded by Washington in the French war, but had later obtained a commission in the British regular army, being attached to the 43d. Regiment of foot when he was wounded at Bunker Hill.[36]

In 1792 certain citizens of Lexington, who constituted the Transylvania Land Company, offered to donate a site of three acres in the town for the permanent buildings of the seminary, and on April 8 of the following year the trustees adopted a resolution accepting this site, on which they proceeded to erect a small two-story brick house.[37]

A number of Presbyterians had been interested from the beginning in the project of founding the seminary; but some of them were so opposed to the election of Mr. Harry Toulmin as its president, February 5, 1794, that in the following December they secured from the legislature of Kentucky a charter for a new school, which they named the "Kentucky Academy." After four years of rivalry between these neighboring seminaries their respective boards presented a joint petition to the legislature, asking for the union of the two. Accordingly, a charter was granted which united the institutions under the name of the "Transylvania University." This charter went into effect, January 1, 1779, thus creating the first seat of higher education west of the Alleghany Mountains. During the next seventeen years the university derived most of its income from the rents of its landed endowment, totaling now about twenty thousand acres. Then, in 1816, the trustees sold these lands and applied the proceeds, with those from other sources, not only to the

[36] *Filson Club Publications No. 27,* 137, 138; Sabine, *American Loyalists during the Revolution,* II, 41.

[37] *Filson Club Publications No. 11,* 45-47.

erection of a new college edifice and the establishment of the medical and law colleges, but also to the payment of the current expenses of the institution.[38]

The final stage in the history of Transylvania University was not reached until the close of the Civil War. By act of the legislature, approved February 28, 1865, the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky and Transylvania University were consolidated with Kentucky University. The buildings of the last named institution had been erected at Harrodsburg on lands bought for the purpose by the citizens of Mercer County. At the close of the war these buildings were destroyed by fire, and the proposal to remove the institution to Lexington and unite it with Transylvania, already under consideration for some time, was now renewed and executed by the curators of Kentucky University. The removal was accomplished forthwith, and the merged institutions opened their first session October 2, 1865, under the name of Kentucky University.[39]

[38] *Filson Club Publications No. 11,* 49-52, 64, 66-71, 86, 87, 102.
[39] *Ibid.,* 175-177.

CHARLES DICKENS IN OHIO IN 1842.

BY HEWSON L. PEEKE.

In his work "Charles Dickens in America" by W. Glyde Wilkins the author says:

"Dickens' opinion of the American newspapers was fully expressed in one of his letters to Forster in which he wrote: 'of course I can do nothing but in some shape or other it gets into the newspapers. All manner of lies get there and occasionally a truth so twisted or distorted that it has as much resemblance to the real fact as Quilp's leg to Taglioni's.' This was hardly true of the papers of Cincinnati, as they published nothing of his doings except the bare fact of his arrival, as shown by the following—

"Mr. Dickens and his lady have, we are informed, arrived in the city."—*Daily Chronicle,* April 4th, 1842.

"'Mr. Dickens and lady arrived in our city yesterday morning and have taken rooms at the Broadway Hotel. We understand they will be at home today from 11 o'clock until three o'clock'—*Daily Republican,* April 5th, 1842.

"'Charles Dickens. This gentleman reached our city yesterday and took lodgings at the Broadway Hotel.'—*Cincinnati Gazette,* April 5th, 1842.

"There were certainly no lies in these three items, and a careful search of succeeding issues of these newspapers fails to show that they even made any mention of his doings in the city, or of his leaving the city on the following Wednesday morning."—*Charles Dickens in America,* by W. Glyde Wilkins, Page 206.

Nor when he made the return trip to Cincinnati arriving April 21st, 1842, did the newspapers make any mention of the fact.

There are two letters from Cincinnati in Forster's life of Dickens. In the first dated April 4th, 1842, he thus describes the city:

"I have walked to the window since I turned this page to see what aspect the town wears. We are in a wide street: paved in the way with

small white stones, and in the foot way with small red tiles. The houses are for the most part one story high; some are of wood, others are of a clean white brick. Nearly all have green white blinds out side every window. The principal shops over the way are, according to the inscriptions over them, a large bread bakery; a book bindery; a dry goods store; and a carriage repository; the last named looking like an exceedingly small retail coal shed. On the pavement under our window a black man is chopping wood and another black man is talking (confidentially) to a pig. The public table at this hotel and the hotel opposite has just now finished dinner. The diners are collected on the pavement on both sides of the way, picking their teeth and talking. The day being warm some of them have brought chairs into the street. Some are on three chairs, some on two, and some, in defiance of all known laws of gravity are sitting quite comfortably on one: with three of the chair's legs and their own two high up in the air. The loungers, underneath our window are talking of a great Temperance convention which comes off here tomorrow. Others about me. Others about England."

In a letter dated April 15, 1842, Dickens thus described Cincinnati.

"Cincinnati is only fifty years old, but is a very beautiful city; I think the prettiest place I have ever seen here, except Boston. It has risen out of the forest like an Arabian-Night city; is well laid out; ornamented in the suburbs with pretty villas; and above all, for this is a very rare feature in America, has smooth turf plots and well kept gardens. There happened to be a great temperance festival; and the procession mustered under and passed our windows early in the morning. I suppose they were twenty thousand strong, at least. Some of the banners were quaint and odd enough. The ship carpenters, for instance, displayed on one side of their flag the good ship Temperance in full sail; on the other the steamer Alcohol blowing up sky high. The Irishmen had a portrait of Father Matthew, you may be sure. And Washington's broad lower jaw (by-the-way, Washington had not a pleasant face) figured in all parts of the ranks. In a kind of square at one outskirt of the city they divided into bodies, and were addressed by different speakers. Drier speaking I never heard. I own that I felt quite uncomfortable to think they could take the taste out of their mouths with nothing better than water.

"In the evening we went to a party at Judge Walker's, and were introduced to at least one hundred and fifty first rate bores, separately and singly. I was required to sit down by the greater part of them, and talk.

"A young lady's account of this party, written next morning, and quoted in one of the American memoirs of Dickens, enables us to con-

template his suffering from the point of view of those who inflicted it. ..... I went last evening to a party at Judge Walker's, given to the hero of the day..... When we reached the house Mr. Dickens had left the crowded rooms, and was in the hall with his wife, about taking his departure when we entered the door. We were introduced to him in our wrapping; and in the flurry and embarrassment of the meeting, one of the party dropped a parcel, containing shoes, gloves, etc. Mr. Dickens stooping, gathered them up and restored them with a laughing remark, and we bounded upstairs to get our things off Hastening down again, we found him with Mrs. Dickens seated upon a sofa, surrounded by a group of ladies; Judge Walker having requested him to delay his departure for a few moments, for the gratification of some tardy friends who had just arrived, ourselves among the number. Declining to re-enter the rooms where he had already taken leave of the guests, he had seated himself in the hall. He is young and handsome, has a mellow, beautiful eye, fine brow, and abundant hair. His mouth is large and his smile so bright it seemed to shed light and happiness all about him. His manner is easy, negligent, but not elegant. His dress was foppish; in fact, he was over dressed yet his garments were worn so easily they appeared to be a necessary part of him. He had a dark coat with lighter pantaloons; a black waistcoat embroidered with colored flowers, and about his neck covering his shirt front was a black neck cloth, also embroidered in colors, in which were placed two large diamond pins connected by a chain. A gold watch chain and a large red rose in his button hole completed his toilet. He appeared a little weary, but answered the remarks made to him—for he originated none—in an agreeable manner. Mr. Beard's portrait of Fagan was so placed in the room that he could see it from where we stood surrounding him. One of the ladies asked him if it was his idea of a Jew. He replied 'Very nearly.' Another laughingly, requested that he would give her the rose he wore, as a memento. He shook his head and said 'That will not do; he could not give it to one; the others would be jealous.' A half dozen then insisted on having it, where upon he proposed to divide the leaves among them. In taking the rose from his coat, either by design or accident, the leaves loosened and fell upon the floor, and amid considerable laughter the ladies stooped and gathered them. He remained some twenty minutes, perhaps, in the hall, and then took his leave. I must confess to considerable disappointment in the personal of my idol. I felt that his throne was shaken, although it never could be destroyed."

He arrived at Columbus Thursday evening, April 21st, 1842, and was given a reception at the Neil House that evening. Columbus at that time had one daily paper the *Ohio State Journal* and a semi-weekly the *Ohio Statesman*. Under the head of

"Strangers" the *Ohio State Journal* contained the following announcement in the issue of Thursday, April 21st, 1842:

"Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens arrived in this city today, and are at the Neil House. They leave tomorrow, we understand, for Sandusky City, Buffalo and New York. They have been to St. Louis."

The *Ohio Statesman* made no mention of the visit of Dickens to Columbus.

In a letter dated April 24, 1842, from Sandusky, found in Forster's Life of Dickens, Vol. I, page 396, Dickens further describes his journey, —

"We remained at Cincinnati all Tuesday, the nineteenth, and all that night. At eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, the twentieth, we left in the mail stage for Columbus; Anne, Kate and Mr. Q. inside; I on the box. The distance is one hundred and twenty miles; the road macadamized; and, for an American road, very good. We were three and twenty hours performing the journey. We traveled all night; reached Columbus at seven in the morning; breakfasted; and went to bed until dinner time. At night we held a levee for half an hour, and the people poured in as they always do; each gentleman with a lady on each arm, exactly like the Chorus to God Save the Queen. I wish you could see them, that you might know what a splendid comparison this is. They wear their clothes precisely as the chorus people do; and stand; supposing Kate and me to be in the center of the stage, with our backs to the footlights—just as the company would, on the first night of the season. They shake hands exactly after the manner of the guests at a ball at the Adelphi or the Haymarket; receive any facetiousness on my part as if there were a stage direction 'all laugh;' and have rather more difficulty in 'getting off' than the last gentleman, in white pantaloons, polished boots and berlins, usually display, under the most trying circumstances.

"Next morning, that is to say, on Friday, the 22nd, at seven o'clock exactly, we resumed our journey. The stage from Columbus to this place only running thrice a week, and not on that day, I bargained for an "exclusive extra" with four horses, for which I paid forty dollars, or eight pounds English; the horses changing, as they would if it were the regular stage. To insure our getting on properly, the proprietors sent an agent on the box. And with no other company but him and a hamper full of eatables and drinkables, we went upon our way. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea to you of the kind of road over which we traveled. I can only say that it was, at the best, but a track through a wild forest, and among the swamps, bogs, and morasses of the withered bush. A great portion of it was what is called a 'corduroy road:' which

is made by throwing round logs or whole trees into a swamp, and leaving them to settle there. Good Heavens! if you only felt one of the least of the jolts with which the coach falls from log to log! It is like nothing but going up a steep flight of stairs in an omnibus. Now the coach flung us in a heap on the floor, and now crushed our heads against its roof. Now one side of it was deep in the mire, and we were holding to the other. Now it was lying on the horses' tails, and now again upon its back. But it never, never was in any position, attitude or kind of motion, to which we were accustomed in coaches; or made the smallest approach to our experience of the proceedings of any sort of vehicle that goes on wheels. Still, the day was beautiful, the air delicious, and we were alone; with no tobacco-spittle, or eternal prosy conversation about dollars and politics (the only two subjects they were converse about, or can converse upon) to bore us. We really enjoyed it; made a joke of being knocked about; and were quite merry. At two o'clock we stopped in the wood to open our hamper and dine; and we drank to our darlings and all friends at home. Then we started again and went on until ten o'clock at night; when we reached a place called Lower Sandusky, sixty-two miles from our starting point. The last three hours of the journey were not very pleasant; for it lightened awfully; every flash very vivid, very blue, and very long; and, the wood being so dense that the branches on either side of the track rattled and broke against the coach, it was rather a dangerous neighborhood for a thunderstorm.

"The inn at which we halted was a rough log house. The people were all abed, and we had to knock them up. We had the queerest sleeping room, with two doors, one opposite the other; both opening directly on the wild black country, and neither having any lock or bolt. The effect of these opposite doors was, that one was always blowing the other open; an ingenuity in the art of building, which I don't remember to have met with before. You should have seen me, in my shirt blockading them with portmanteous, desperately endeavoring to make the room tidy. But the blockading was really needful, for in my dessing case I have about 250 l. in gold; and for the amount of the middle figure in that scarce metal there are not a few men in the west who would murder their fathers. Apropos of this golden store, consider at your leisure the strange state of things in this country. It has no money; really no money The bank-paper won't pass; the newspapers are full of advertisements from tradesmen who sell by barter; and American gold is not to be had or purchased. I bought sovereigns, English sovereigns, at first; but as I could get none of them in Cincinnati, to this day I have had to purchase French gold; 20 franc pieces; with which I am traveling as if I were in Paris.

"But let's go back to Lower Sandusky. Mr. Q. went to bed up in the roof of the log house somewhere, but was so beset by bugs that he got up after an hour and lay in the coach ..... where he was obliged

to wait until breakfast time. We breakfasted, driver and all in one common room. It was papered with newspapers, and was as rough a place as need be. At half past seven we started again, and we reached Sandusky at six o'clock yesterday afternoon. It is on Lake Erie, twenty-four hours journey by steamboat from Buffalo. We found no boat here, nor has there been one since. We are waiting, with everything packed up ready to start on the shortest notice; and are anxiously looking out for smoke in the distance.

"There was an old gentleman in the log inn at Lower Sandusky who treats with the Indians on the part of the American government, and has just concluded a treaty with the Wyandot Indians at that place to remove next year to some land provided for them west of the Mississippi, a little beyond St. Louis. He described his negotiations to me, and their reluctance to go, exceedingly well. They are a fine people, but degraded and broken down. If you could see any of their men and women on a race-course in England, you would not know them from gipsies."

This letter contains a curious mistake in calling Upper Sandusky by the name of Lower Sandusky. That it is a mistake is shown by internal evidence, First Upper Sandusky is about sixty-two miles from Columbus. Second The Wyandot Indians were removed from Upper Sandusky and not Lower Sandusky. The mistake is also shown by the fact that Dickens himself corrects it in his American Notes.

On page 96 of the chapter "Arrow points in Seneca County History" in a book called Ohio Early State and Local History is found the following paragraph,

"John Staub, a pioneer hotel keeper, at one time entertained Charles Dickens. Just where he was keeping hotel at the time is not known. Dickens came by stage coach from Upper Sandusky, then to Lower Sandusky (Fremont). He remained but a few hours in Tiffin, yet must have visited several places. Verbal history from several people tells us he visited the Holt house in Fort Ball, at the residence of Richard Sneath on Market Street (where Loschert's grocery now stands) and at the Western Exchange (formerly built for a hotel by Calvin Bradley at Number 215 South Washington Street). He evidently made good use of his time while here."

In the History of Sandusky County by Hon. Basil Meek he relates an episode of travel on the old Mad River Road as told him by his brother-in-law Joseph B. Higbee of Bellevue who was

among the first conductors of the road. The road was not then completed beyond Tiffin when one day a messenger connected with the road told Mr. Higbee that he must get ready a car for a passenger for Sandusky. When the messenger was asked who the passenger was he said he did not know but they called him "Boz."

Mr. Higbee described Dickens as a pleasant appearing "Roast Beef eating" Englishman and felt honored in having charge a passenger of such distinction.

In the same letter Dickens thus describes his visit to Sandusky:

"At two o'clock we took the railroad from Tiffin; the traveling on which was very slow, its construction being very indifferent, and the ground wet and marshy; and arrived at Sandusky in time to dine that evening. We put up at a comfortable little hotel on the brink of Lake Erie, lay there that night, and had no choice but to lay there the next day, until a steamboat bound for Buffalo appeared. The town which was sluggish and uninteresting enough, was something like the back of an English watering place out of season.

"Our host who was very attentive and anxious to make us comfortable, was a handsome middleaged man, who had come into this town from New England, in which part of the country he was 'raised.' When I say he walked in and out of the room with his hat on; and stopped to converse in the same free and easy state; and lay down on our sofa and pulled his newspaper out of his pocket and read it at his ease; I merely mention these traits as characteristic of the country; not at all as being matter of complaint or disagreeable to me. I should undoubtedly be offended by such things at home, because they are not our custom; and where they are not they would be impertinences; but in America the only desire of a goodnatured fellow of this kind, is to treat his guests hospitably and well; and I had no more right, and I can truly say no more disposition to measure his conduct by our English rule and standard, than I had to quarrel with him for not being of the exact stature which would qualify him for admission into the Queen's Grenadier Guards. As little inclination had I to find fault with a funny old lady who was an upper domestic in this establishment, and when she came to wait upon us at any meal, sat herself down comfortably in the most convenient chair, and producing a large pin to pick her teeth with, remained performing that ceremony, and steadfastly regarding us meanwhile with much gravity and composure (now and then pressing us to eat a little more) until it was time to clear away. It was enough for us, that whatever we wished done was done with great civility and readiness, and a

desire to oblige, not only here but everywhere else; and that all our wants were in general, zealously anticipated.

"We were taking an early dinner at this house, on the day after our arrival which was Sunday, when a steamboat hove in sight, and presently touched at the wharf. As she proved to be on her way to Buffalo, we hurried on board with all speed and soon left Sandusky far behind us."

The files of the Sandusky paper for the year 1842 were destroyed by fire in the early sixties so that it is no longer possible to state the comments of the *Sandusky Clarion* on the visit of Dickens to that city.

The hotel still standing, at which Charles Dickens stopped at his visit here in 1842 was the old Wayne hotel at the Southwest corner of Wayne and Water streets which was then called Colt's Exchange and its proprietor was Col. R. E. Colt an Eastern man, Dickens occupied the second floor parlor bedroom on the Northwest corner and a cherry table then in the room is now in the possession of L. D. Anthony of Sandusky. William T. West used to tell the story that Dickens accepted an invitation to a banquet given by Sandusky admirers and at the proper time did not come down but sent his valet in his place.

Forster's Life of Dickens contains a letter written from Sandusky April 24th, 1842, in which Dickens says:

"We reached Sandusky at six o'clock yesterday afternoon. It is on Lake Erie, 24 hours journey by Steamboat from Buffalo. We found no boat here nor has there been one since. We are waiting with everything packed up ready to start on the shortest notice..... We are in a small house here but a very comfortable one, and the people are exceedingly obliging. Their demeanor in these country parts is invariably morose, sullen, clownish and repulsive. I should think there is not on the face of the earth a people so entirely destitute of humor, vivacity or the capacity of enjoyment. It is most remarkable. Lounging listlessly about bar-rooms, smoking, spitting and lolling on the pavement in rocking chairs outside the shop doors, are the only recreations. Our landlord is from the East. He is a handsome obliging civil fellow. He comes into the room with his hat on, spits in the fire place when he talks, sits down on the sofa with his hat on, pulls out his newspaper and reads, but to all that I am accustomed. He is anxious to please and that's enough."

The housekeeper described by Dickens was probably the wife of Col. Colt as the *Sandusky Mirror* of December 25th, 1854, speaks of her as the chef of the hotel.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in 1915 says of Dickens' visit:

"I have read in Forster's Life of Charles Dickens this letter of the great novelist: 'Tuesday, April 26, 1842; We lay all Sunday night at a town (and a beautiful town, too) called Cleveland, on Lake Erie. The people poured on board in crowds by six on Monday morning to see me, and a party of gentlemen actually planted themselves before our little cabin and stared in at the doors and windows while I was washing and Kate lay in bed. I was incensed at this and at a certain newspaper published in that town which I had accidentally seen in Sandusky, advocating war with England to the death, saying that Britain must be whipped again, and promising all true Americans that within the year they should sing "Yankee Doodle" within Hyde Park and "Hail Columbia" in the courts of Westminster, that when the Mayor came on board to present himself to me according to custom, I refused to see him and bade M. Q. tell him why and wherefore. His honor took it very coolly, and retired to the top of the wharf with a big stick and a whittling knife, with which he worked so lustily (staring at the closed door of our cabin all the time) that long before the boat left the big stick was no bigger than a cribbage peg.'"

The Mayor of Cleveland at the time mentioned in the Dickens letter was Dr. Joshua Mills, a practicing physician and a partner of Dr. J. M. Ackley who was looked upon as the head of his profession in the young city. It was Dr. Mills' second term in the mayor's office. He had been chosen to succeed George W. Willey, and after the administrations of Nicholas Dockstadert and John W. Allen, had been chosen again, a strong proof of the confidence of the public in his integrity and fitness for the office.

It is quite possible that Dickens, who seems on that famous tour to have persisted in regarding everything American with a jaundiced eye entirely misunderstood the mayor's well meant attentions, and with his inborn love of caricature exaggerated all the details of the incident. The attention he received in the little city of 6,000 souls, a city just emerging from the wilderness, should have gratified the young author. The fact that his fame as a writer — a fame largely based at that time on the "Pickwick

Papers" should have penetrated to the remote settlement on the Cuyahoga, might have been expected to gratify him. On the contrary, he saw in the attentions given him — awkward perhaps, and yet flattering — nothing except the grotesque side.

When Dickens came back to Cleveland twenty-five years later, the little group on the steamboat dock had grown to an audience that overcrowded the city's largest hall.

The newspaper referred to by our correspondent was the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* published by A. N. & J. W. Gray, then entering on its second year. It was a common thing at that time for Democratic editors to twist the British lion's tail. The Democrats charged that the Whigs were in full sympathy with the British leaders, and attacks on the allies of the Whig was a part of the bitter partisan campaign. Gray excelled in satire and anathema and his favorite editorial pastime was badgering the Whigs. No doubt the article that incensed the British author was designedly a piece of sublimated buncombe.

The *Plain Dealer* of April 27th, 1842, contained the following editorial from Gray's pen in which he wafted the Ohio farewell to the English author:

"The Dickens was to pay here on Monday morning, when Boz was announced to be among us, "taking notes" we suppose. He came in on the Steamboat Constitution from Sandusky, took a hasty stroll through our streets accompanied by a Boston friend, and returned to his stateroom on board, and shut himself up from the vulgar gaze. His lady, however, showed her plump round English face to as many as wished to look, which quite compensated the gaping crowd, as she and her modest lord are one, according to the English law."

As far as the Ohio newspapers were concerned Mr. Dickens does not seem to have had much ground of complaint.

OHIO'S GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS AND THE WAR.*

BY CARL WITTKE.

Instructor in American History. Ohio State University.

In April 1917, when the war cloud settled over America, most of the German-language publications in this country found themselves in an extremely embarrassing position. To the very last, they had opposed America's entry into the war. To them, it seemed that Germany's cause had been grossly misrepresented by an Anglicised press, and the German contention that the Fatherland was waging a purely defensive war against envious neighbors had been so skillfully presented, that, to the sympathetic soul of the German-American, it seemed extremely plausible. The editorial tone of the greater part of the German press in this country, in spite of occasional criticisms of the "arrogant, dull and blundering" Junker class that directed Germany's foreign policy, remained consistently pro-German. The glorious victories of German arms, on land and sea, were celebrated on the first page. Then the war came to America. A change of front became necessary as a matter of self-preservation. Without it, complete suppression, or prosecutions for disloyalty could hardly have been avoided. The first few months after the declaration of war — the transition period — are by all odds the most important and the most interesting in the recent history of Ohio's German-language newspapers. It is during these months that the editors performed the mental gymnastics that have finally landed them in their present position. This transition period was a period of bewildered readjustment, of conflict of emotions in the hearts of many German-Americans, and of the shifting in the editorial point of view of their papers. The writer has found it impossible to make anything like a thor-

* This article is based on material collected by the Historical Commission of Ohio.

ough examination of the files for the neutrality and transition periods in time for this paper. The present study covers only the past twelve months, and therefore some of the conclusions offered must be regarded as tentative and preliminary. One statement can be made without fear of contradition, namely, the editors of the German dailies of Ohio have demonstrated that they are past masters in the strategy of conducting retreats. Position after position has been abandoned, until now, all the papers with the exception of the German Socialist weekly, have become intensely loyal, not to say, blatantly patriotic, in their public professions of devotion to their country's cause. One cannot help wondering how this complete metamorphosis was accomplished in so short a time, and the reader longs for some miraculous power that would enable him to peer into the innermost chambers of the editors' minds, and find out how the change came about, and how sincere and complete it has been. But practically, of course, it makes little difference for it is only the printed article that reaches the reader, and so helps to mould public opinion.[1]

No doubt some of the publishers of German newspapers honestly came to the conclusion that the loyal support of the government's war policy, after war had once been declared, was the solemn duty of every American citizen, and if the conflicting emotions that still surged through their hearts when the choice between the old and the new Fatherland became imperative, did not allow them to become very active supporters of the war, they simply refrained from all comment and criticism.

[1] See an excellent article on "The Strategic Retreat of the German Language Press", by Clyde William Park, in the *North American Review*, May, 1918, pp. 706-720. The writer quotes from the *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger*, the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, and the *Cincinnati Abend-Presse*. He concludes his discussion of this transition period as follows,—"In all this tangle of unsympathetic comment, amusing in its mixed logic and tragic in its conflicting emotions, there is probably less of deliberate propaganda than of bewildered readjustment—a reluctant shifting of the editorial point of view to meet an extremely embarrassing situation." After having defended and idolized Germany for so long, "a reasonable period of mourning for their dead illusions" was perhaps but natural.

It is gratifying to find in a paper like the *Columbus Express und Westbote* the statement made immediately after the declaration of war, that "We have from this time on but one duty to perform, and that, an unswerving, unfaltering loyalty to the country and the flag of our adoption, whatever her course or wherever she may lead." [2]

After October, 1917, it became almost a physical impossibility for any foreign language paper to circulate if its news and editorial tone was not completely loyal. By act of Congress, it was provided that no printed matter respecting the war, could be published in any foreign language paper unless a true translation had first been submitted to the postmaster. Whenever the government was satisfied that the paper was loyal, a permit could be issued, allowing publication without filing translations. The act practically forced every paper that desired to continue publication, to support the government and the war. By October, 1918, every important German newspaper in Ohio, with the exception of the *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger,* had been granted such a permit. The *Wächter und Anzeiger* has had many difficulties, and they can perhaps be explained in part, by the fact that two former editors have been arrested as alien enemies, the present editor was arrested on a charge of "garbling" an Associated Press dispatch, and the stock of one of the members of the company has been recently seized by the Custodian of Alien Enemies' Property.

There was some criticism of the law requiring translations. In an editorial of October 15, 1917, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* promises to obey it, and asks its readers to appreciate the difficulties of a German-American newspaper in these troubled times. In a later issue, the editor remarks that many of the readers must wonder why he prints all war dispatches without comment, and then explains that he is "wide awake", conscious of the pitfalls along the way, and extremely cautious because every such article would have to be submitted in translation to the postmaster.[3] The *Wächter und Anzeiger* had more difficulty than any other German paper in Ohio in readjusting its editorial

[2] Quoted in *The Columbus Dispatch,* August 18, 1918.
[3] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* November 3, 1917.

policy to war conditions. In spite of protestations of loyalty, one cannot help feeling that the conversion of this paper was exceedingly slow and difficult, so slow that some still doubt the sincerity of the new point of view. November 1, 1917, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* gave a conspicuous place to a quotation from Roosevelt's "The Naval War of 1812", to the effect that the disregard of the rights of neutrals is often simply a matter of expediency, and the editor did not let the opportunity slip to show "the champion of Belgian neutrality in quite a different light". It is difficult to see how there could have been any reason for publishing such an article at this time, unless it was to justify or excuse the German invasion of Belgium. Alien enemies, and all others, are urged to keep silent on war questions, especially over their beer. "Where conscience and duty speak", the editor adds, "the heart must be silent".[4] In March, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* gave vent to an entirely uncalled for criticism of Ambassador Gerard's book, "Face to Face with Kaiserism", and pronounced it a superficial study, showing lack of judgment and containing certain, rather numerous, misstatements of fact.[5] Equally uncalled for was an article that labored hard to prove that Prussia was not an absolute monarchy, but a constitutional monarchy since 1850.[6] The same paper was late in publishing Prince Lichnowsky's damaging revelations, and then announced that it would also publish von Jagow's reply, so that all readers might draw their own conclussions.[7] The *Wächter und Anzeiger* refused to take active part in the propaganda of the Friends of German Democracy, an organization composed largely of Americans of German blood, and having for its purpose the democratization of Germany, on the ground that the agitation was contrary to President Wilson's statement that the United States does not presume to suggest to Germany any alteration or modification of her institutions.[8] The German successes in Russia must have warmed the heart of the editor, for he made

[4] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* November 26, 1917; see also May 6, 1918.
[5] *Ibid.,* March 9, 1918.
[6] *Ibid.,* December 14, 1917.
[7] *Ibid.,* May 11. 1918.
[8] *Wachter und Anzeiger,* May 2, 1917.

the blunder of announcing the German victories in the bold headlines — "German Fleet Before Reval", "The Persecuted People of Esthonia Do Not Call in Vain For Help." To speak charitably, such a headline fails to grasp the American viewpoint entirely. The citations show how long it was before the transition period came to an end. No editor would make such blunders to-day.

During the past year, an agitation against all things German, has swept the state. In many cases, it has been led by extremists, whose methods at times bordered on the hysterical. German music, no matter how long ago it was composed, German literature, German churches, German Singing Societies, almost everything that could be labelled with the hated German name, has, at one time or other, been under the ban and the subject of bitter attacks. Cases of mob violence have been altogether too frequent.[9] The attitude of the German language press toward all these attacks can be summed up in the statement that a man can be 100% American and yet speak German, sing German songs, worship his God in the German tongue, and read his old friend, the German newspaper.[10] Every German newspaper justified the teaching of German in the public schools, and quoted United States Commissioner of Education, Claxton in support of this position.[11] The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* argues that the children in any case do not read Treitschke or Bernhardi, but only the German classics which breathe the spirit of republicanism.[12] Naturally enough, the papers made the most of their opportunity to ridicule the extremists who changed Sauerkraut to "Liberty Cabbage", and soothed their consciences by insisting

[9] See the cases reported in *Toledo Express*, June 8, 1918; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, April 2, 1918; *Stern des Westlichen Ohio*, April 4, 1918; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, April 3, 15, 16, 1918.

[10] See for example, *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, May 8, 1918.

[11] Following is a very incomplete list of towns where the teaching of German has been dropped either entirely, or in the grades: Lancaster, Defiance, Columbus, Cincinnati, Youngstown, Cleveland, Mansfield, Elyria, Marysville, Wooster, Newark, Bowling Green, Delphos, Sandusky, Findlay, Sebring, Waynesfield, Bellevue, Port Clinton, Napoleon, Milford Center, Irwin, Toledo, Springfield, Lakewood, Dayton, Norwalk.

[12] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, April 17, 1918.

that German fried potatoes must be excluded from hotel menus,[13] but most of the editorials betray a real fear for the future of the American "Deutschtum". The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* predicts a steady decline in the membership of German societies and churches, and a gradual extermination of all foreign language papers.[14] The *Wächter und Anzeiger* prints editorials on the Reorganization of "Das Deutschtum" in America, and "The Critical Hour for German-Americans".[15] Most of these articles are simply vigorous rejoinders to the attacks of the "Nativists" and "Knownothings", in which American casualty lists and rolls of honor, full of German-sounding names, are hurled in the teeth of the agitators to prove the loyalty of the Americans of German extraction.[16] But a few of the papers go farther and venture to suggest that the German-Americans themselves might be somewhat at fault or at least might do a number of things to improve their standing in the eyes of their fellow Americans. In an editorial of June 8, 1918, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* advises dropping the term German-American and urges the German-born to mingle more freely with the mass of Americans, so that they may learn to appreciate them and their point of view. The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* believes that the German-Americans as a class have suffered much from the character of their leaders.![17] The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* shares this opinion, and on April 20, 1918, reprints an article from the *St. Louis Anzeiger,* which maintains that it was the few in authority who brought the now defunct German-American Alliance into disrepute. The rank and file of the membership it believes were innocent and absolutely loyal, but control of the Alliance had, in late years, fallen into the hands

[13] See *Columbus Express und Westbote,* June 4, 1918; April 26, 1918; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* May 11 and May 21, 1918; *Cincinnati Abend-Presse,* July 22, 1918. It has been discovered that the Pretzel is of Italian origin, and that Limburger cheese really was introduced to suffering humanity by a Belgian.

[14] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* July 20, 1918.

[15] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* October 8, 1917; and June 19, 1918.

[16] See *Wächter und Anzeiger,* May 18, 1918, October 25, 1917; and *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* March 30 and April 1, 1918.

[17] *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* May 17, 1918.

of a few who had recently come to America, and who were filled with Pan-German dreams. The Dayton paper demands a thorough Congressional investigation of the activities of the Alliance, so that it may be definitely ascertained whether the millions of loyal German-Americans who innocently joined the organization, were hoodwinked by leaders in the service of Germany.[18] An attempt was made in Ohio to revive the Alliance under the new name of "American Citizens' League", but judging from newspaper comment, the great mass of German-Americans are refusing to become interested.[19]

Unpleasant as it must have been, the German press could not ignore the numerous arrests in Ohio of Germans, and those of German extraction, for treasonable acts and disloyal utterances, and a number of the editors tried to account for these arrests and the pro-German activities. The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* points out that those arrested are in many cases alien enemies who have failed to obey all the minute regulations of the Department of Justice in regard to their conduct, or members of the I. W. W., Socialists, Anarchists and Pacifists. These oppose the war, it is maintained, not as Germans, but as Socialists and pacifists.[20] The *Toledo Express* shows that it is the German Socialist press which has given most of the trouble, and that 99% of the German-American press is loyal, no matter what it might have been during the period of neutrality.[21] Time and again earnest appeals are directed by the newspapers to the great majority of loyal German-Americans to expose the traitor lurking in their midst and bringing suspicion upon all of German blood by his pro-German activities.[22]

The charge of the *Toledo Express* that the German Socialists are giving trouble because of their anti-war position, ap-

[18] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* April 22, 1918.

[19] See *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* June 8, 1918; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* June 13, 1918; *Toledo Presse,* May 1, 1918.

[20] *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* April 13, and July 11, and May 31, 1918; *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* July 2, 1918.

[21] *Toledo Express,* April 27, 1918.

[22] *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* May 27, 1918; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* March 29 and April 5, 1918.

plies to the *Echo,* the German Socialist weekly published in Cleveland. That paper still adheres to the St. Louis manifesto, believes that "There can never be a good war or a bad peace",[23] and that it is impossible to get political democracy until the new social and industrial order has been attained. In spite of its anti-war attitude, the *Echo* betrays no love for Germany, and its issues are full of attacks on the German Socialists who have betrayed their party and the International, and who have been foolish enough to help the Junkers and the Hohenzollerns win a military victory which can never be a victory for the German people.[24]

As far as public support of the war is concerned, Ohio's German papers leave very little to be desired. The greatest publicity has been given to Liberty Loan drives, by large advertisements which spread over entire pages, by editorials, and by means of the plate service furnished by the government itself. This is especially true of the last three loans.[25] The Cleveland daily made a special effort to get German-Americans to subscribe to the third loan. One motive was undoubtedly to silence the opponents of the paper by giving this public display of its loyalty. Almost 2,000 bonds, amounting to over $250,000, were sold at the newspaper office itself, and the total subscriptions of Cleveland's German-Americans exceeded a half million dollars.[26] Vigorous support has been given by all the papers to the work of the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., and to the War Chest drives in the various cities.[27] The regulations of the fuel and food administrations are heartily endorsed, and a special appeal

[23] *Echo,* June 15, 1918.

[24] See *Echo,* June 1, June 22, July 6, and May 25, 1918.

[25] See for examples, *Akron Germania,* Sept. 28, 1918; *Wächter und Anzeiger,* Sept. 27; *Cincinnati Abend-Presse,* Sept. 28; *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* July 3; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* June 28; *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt,* Sept. 6; *Columbus Express und Westbote,* April 12 and May 6; *Toledo Presse,* April 17; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* April 6; *Stern des Westlichen Ohio* (New Bremen), March 28, 1918.

[26] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* April 5 and May 11, 1918.

[27] See for examples, *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* April 3; *Wächter und Anzeiger,* Feb. 11 and May 20; *Toledo Express,* May 18; *Sandusky Demokrat,* May 17; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* May 18, 1918.

is frequently made to the thrifty German housewife to live up to her reputation and show the way to her American sisters in the matter of conserving our food supply. There are also occasional editorials appealing to the laborer to maintain industrial peace, because strikes at this time would reduce the country's fighting strength.[28] Editorials in support of our merchant marine and the shipbuilding program, are quite common.[29] When the July offensive of the Allies began, there was no disposition to belittle its importance, and full credit and unstinted praise was given, in headline and editorial, to the American boys who played such an important role in these and all subsequent operations.[30]

A much safer test of the loyalty and sincerity of the German-language press than its support of liberty loans and Red Cross campaigns affords, can be made, I think, by examining its discussions of the fundamental causes and aims of the war. What have the editors to say about responsibility for the war? What of German war practices, and the internal conditions of the German Empire? And finally, have they caught the American spirit, and do they understand and sympathize with the high aims that America has set for herself in this war?

For a few months after we entered the war, some of the editors published the war news as they received it, and refrained from making any comments whatsoever. They must have felt their embarrassing position very keenly, and it required time to adjust themselves to the new conditions. Probably some were skeptical of America's position and doubted the sincerity of President Wilson's rather idealistic utterances. But as one reads the files of the various papers in Ohio, one cannot help discovering, as the months go by, encouraging signs of a real understanding of, and sympathy with, America's war aims.

---

[28] *Toledo Express,* May 4; *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* September 14, 1918.

[29] *Columbus Express und Westbote,* May 4; *Wächter und Anzeiger,* Feb. 18, and May 4, 1918.

[30] See *Cincinnati Abend-Presse,* July 19; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* July 19; *Wächter und Anzeiger,* July 19 and September 13, 1918; *Columbus Express und Westbote,* July 19, 1918.

Many a citizen of German blood has been disillusioned by the terms of the Russian Peace, and the Lichnowsky Revelations, and the same seems to be true of the editors of the German newspapers. Editorials on the causes of the war become more frequent as we approach the present day, and also more bitter toward the existing German government. President Wilson made this change in editorial policy much easier when, at the very beginning, he made a distinction between the German people and their autocratic rulers. Naturally, that distinction was seized upon by the German-language press. The *Express und Westbote* of April 16, 1918, carries an editorial full of praise for the President. He is described as the spokesman of all free peoples, who desire peace, but who must have a just peace. The editor contends that peace can only be discussed with the real representatives of the German people, and never with the military autocracy that has just revealed its hand in the Russian and Roumanian peace treaties. American liberties are at stake, and the fight must go on until the German military autocracy, but not the German people, is destroyed.[31] The Russian peace made a profound impression, and the Brest-Litovsk negotiations are condemned in unmistakable language.[32] The Lichnowsky Revelations, as well as those of Dr. Muehlon, were printed in full in almost every German paper in Ohio. The *Columbus Express and Westbote* sent the German translation of "How the War Came to America" to all its readers. Several of the papers printed complete lists of the publications of the Committee on Public Information, with directions to the readers in regard to how they might be obtained.[33] The plate service of the Friends of German Democracy is used by many of the papers, and these articles very often deal with the fundamental issues of the war. A Columbus paper describes the German people as a people led astray by its selfish rulers, and now threatening to destroy the liberty and peace of

[31] *Columbus Express und Westbote,* April 16, 1918.

[32] See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* May 27, May 29, June 4, 1918.

[33] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* May 27; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* April 9, 1918.

the world forever.[34] The *Express und Westbote* specifically charges the German autocracy with plunging the world into war, seeking world domination, disregarding all international law, and being guilty of the most wanton destruction of property in its conduct of the war.[35] Of all such statements, the public confession of the editor of the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* rings truest. On May 31, 1918, he writes:

"It is not an easy matter for a German to change his mind. If he does, there must be weighty reasons. What has happened lately, has opened the eyes of Germans the world over..... They believed that Germany.....was compelled to fight a defensive war. But events have brought to light the greed, tyranny, and lust for conquest of the ruling class of Germany. The disregard of American rights, and the treatment of the Russians has enabled every right-minded German to see the situation in the proper light, and has brought him the conviction that the Germany of the military party is not the Germany that has been living on in his memory. The beauties of German literature and song have been forced to yield to the dark powers that rule Germany to-day. The scales have fallen from our eyes..... No one can dictate to our conscience. We are speaking only for ourselves and for our readers who wish to follow us..... when we declare that we have not the least sympathy with the German government as it is constituted to-day, and that we have devoted all we have to the cause of the United States. All our interests are here, our homes and our children. All our hopes are in America."[36]

The internal conditions of the German Empire are rather common topics for discussion in the editorial columns. One paper assails the German Crown Prince as the leader of the Pan-Germans, a would-be master of strategy, and a sufferer from a violent case of megalomania.[37] Articles on how the German people are being deceived, and attacks on the Junkers, and especially their opposition to Prussian electoral reform, appear frequently.[38] The work of our secret service in the last few months has called out several articles on German intrigues and propa-

[34] *Der Ohio Sonntagsgast,* April 21, 1918.

[35] *Columbus Express und Westbote,* April 30, 1918

[36] See a similar article in, *Columbus Express und Westbote,* May 29, 1918.

[37] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* September 4, 1918.

[38] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* March 1, March 21, May 7, May 18, June 18, July 23; *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* May 17, 1918; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* Sept. 28, 1918.

ganda in the United States. The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* denounces these activities as shameful and absurd, and adds, "Poor German people . . . . how you have been misrepresented by adventurers who have made the German name hated and despised the world over".[39] George Sylvester Viereck, the editor of the *Fatherland,* and later of *Viereck's Weekly,* a publication that was a recognized organ of German propaganda, has few friends among the German newspaper men of Ohio. They call him a dishonest adventurer, "an American citizen who sold his honor and his independence for the German ambassador's gold".[40]

The one outstanding difference between the German and English newspaper that appears in Ohio to-day, is the almost complete absence of all discussion of German war practices in the former. The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* has carried one attack on Germany's practice of killing innocent and defenseless women and children by air raids on undefended towns,[41] and a few comments can be found on the failure of U-boat warfare,[42] but that is all. Speeches of soldiers and travelers, back from Europe, and dealing with German war practices may be reported as news, but they are printed without comment.[43]

In spite of the German newspapers' public professions of loyalty, the past year has been for them a year of persecution and financial loss. The German language press seems to be losing ground continually, and it is inconceivable how it can ever be regained unless the end of the war should bring a heavy German immigration. Paper after paper has suspended publication, either for all time, or for the period of the war.[44] The company which

[39] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* July 26 and June 19, 1918; See also *Toledo Express,* Sept. 19, 1918.

[40] *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* July 30; *Cincinnati Abend-Presse,* July 27; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* July 30, 1918.

[41] July 5, 1918.

[42] *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* June 5; *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* June 4, 1918.

[43] See *Wächter und Anzeiger,* March 10, May 16, July 16, 1918.

[44] The following is an incomplete list,—*Hamilton "Deutsch-Amerikaner"; Lorain Post,* Canton, *Ohio Volkszeitung, Youngstown Rundschau, Steubenville Germania,* Cleveland *Volksfreund und Arbeiterzeitung, Columbus Express und Westbote, Westbote* and *Ohio Sonntagsgast.*

published the *Columbus Express und Westbote* bought the circulation lists of eleven newspapers during the past year, and then at last decided to cease publishing its own papers. The president of the company is a major in the United States Army, and has been on duty in France. The publishers saw the handwriting on the wall, and claim that they suspended while business was still profitable. The suspension is for all time, and the reasons alleged are of a patriotic nature. Says the editor in his farewell, — " . . . . The trend of the times, a thousand times reinforced by the war, demands the suspension of all foreign language publications, especially the German."[45] Very few of the German papers still published in Ohio carry enough advertising to make the business profitable. There have been, and there still are, movements under way to boycott any firm that advertises in the German press. The *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger,* once a great advertising medium, now contains little more than a few want ads, and its circulation list, exclusive of sales at news stands, is down to 3,740.[46] Its papers have been burned by Boy Scouts, petitions have been sent to Washington demanding its suppression,[47] and riotous crowds have interfered with the distribution of the paper by congregating around its agencies.[48] German editors occasionally receive anonymous and threatening letters.[49] It has been increasingly difficult to get boys to carry "the Dutch paper", and packages of newspapers, shipped to neighboring towns, have been known to disappear from the train or interurban in a most mysterious fashion. The *Toledo Express*, a paper forty-seven years old, has shrunk from a daily to a semi-weekly, and then to a weekly, because of the financial losses incurred during the last year. The publishers have declared that only an early peace can save the paper. A number of the papers have reduced the size of their issues. Interestingly enough, some of the papers are publishing articles in English. Is this the beginning of a gradual change

[45] *Der Ohio Sonntagsgast,* August 18, 1918.
[46] *Wächter und Anzeiger,* October 1, 1918.
[47] *Ibid.,* June 1 and March 23, 1918.
[48] *Ibid.,* June 2, 1918.
[49] See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung,* April 20, 1918.

from a German to an English paper? The *Wächter und Anzeiger* contains at least one article in English every day. The *Akron Germania* publishes a war review, sometimes as much as a full page, in English, and the *Minster Post* sometimes appears half English and half German.[50]

Most of the papers are trying to hold their circulation, and the few advertisers they are still able to get, — and are hoping for an early peace to bring back the before-the-war prosperity. They are answering their persecutors by pointing out that "A war against the German press in this country is a war against the government." [51] They publish with pride and evident delight the letters from Secretary McAdoo, George Creel, and other high officials, thanking them for their loyal and hearty support of Liberty Loans and War Savings Stamp Campaigns. They maintain that the German paper is still a necessity in this country, and ask, with considerable effect, how would it have been possible to administer the draft law, and the detailed regulations for the registration and conduct of alien enemies, among those who know but one tongue, if it had not been for the German-language press? As far as the government itself is concerned, its present policy, whatever its ultimate policy may be, is to recognize the foreign language newspapers as existing institutions, and to get the greatest possible good out of them.[52]

---

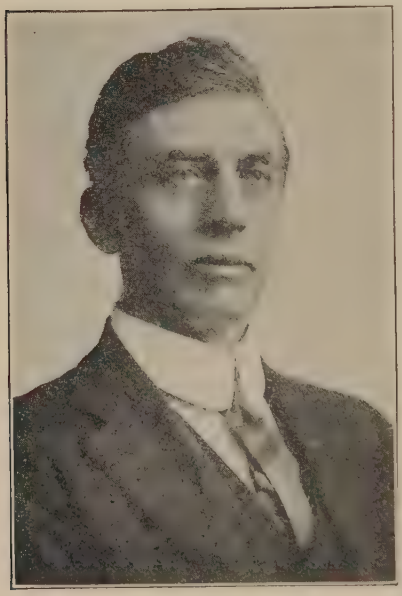
[50] See for example, *Minster Post,* Sept. 6, 1918; and *Akron Germania,* Sept. 4, 1918. Also *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanischer Bote* (Youngstown), Sept. 6, 1918.

[51] *Cincinnati Volksblatt,* July 11, 1918.

[52] See a letter from the Council of National Defense to all State Councils, reprinted in *Cincinnati Abend-Presse,* July 15, 1918.

OHIO STATE LIBRARY CENTENNIAL

The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Ohio State Library was observed on the evening of August 10, 1917. No special significance attached to this particular date. It is not known just when the State Library first opened. It was doubtless available for the use of the general assembly at the regular session which began December 1, 1917. Provision had been made for it and the initial supply of books purchased by Governor Worthington much earlier in the year as will be learned from the addresses on the following pages. The date chosen for this celebration was therefore not inappropriately between the anniversary of the purchase of the first books and the opening of the library.



CHARLES B. GALBREATH.

The first summer library school held under the auspices of the Board of Library Commissioners closed August 11, 1917. Those in attendance were thus enabled to be present at the meeting.

Representatives of the public library and the library of the Ohio State University were also present and a goodly number of others interested in the State Library and its work.

State Librarian C. B. Galbreath presided. He stated that of the twenty-four persons who had previously held the position

of state librarian the following are still living: H. L. Conard, John M. Doane, W. G. Sibley, F. B. Loomis and J. H. Newman.

A letter was read from his secretary stating that Governor Cox regretted his inability to be present because of a previous engagement to speak at Fort Benjamin Harrison.

Letters of congratulation were received from J. I. Wyer, Jr., Director of the New York State Library; Demarcus C. Brown, State Librarian of Indiana; Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, State Librarian of Michigan; M. S. Dudgeon, Secretary of the Free Library Commission of Wisconsin and N. D. C. Hodges, Librarian of the public library of Cincinnati.

An interesting letter from W. G. Sibley, editor of the *Tribune,* Gallipolis, Ohio, and a former librarian of the State Library was received. Among other things he said:

"Please accept my best wishes for yourself and those who may be present on the anniversary. I have no doubt it will be a pleasant occasion. In my day the library was a political plum, usually filled by some man who could be useful to the Governor. But I was not appointed for any such reason, because when the Governor's telegram offering me the place arrived, I could not understand it, never having had the remotest idea of being a candidate for it. Later I learned it was the result of a suggestion made to the Governor by my father at a time when ther was no thought of any change.

"I am glad to know that now the office is out of politics, and that the librarian is chosen for fitness alone."

Subsequent to the meeting a letter was also received from F. B. Loomis who was in California when the invitation was directed to his Washington address.

After a brief introduction by Mr. Galbreath, the principal address of the evening was delivered by the well-known historian, Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, ex-Secretary of State of Ohio. His carefully prepared address held the closest attention of those present. No summary can do justice to it. It must be read to be fully appreciated. It will long stand not only as a faithful and illuminating contribution to the history of the State Library but as a guide to a career of larger usefulness for that institution. Among other things it was a strong plea for a tenure of office

and employment in the State Library based only upon recognized qualification and efficient service.

Following this excellent address remarks were made by Hon. E. O. Randall, reporter of the Supreme Court of Ohio and Secretary of the State Archaeological and Historical Society; Hon. J. H. Newman, former State Librarian; Mr. John J. Pugh, librarian of the Columbus Public Library; Miss Olive Jones, librarian of the Ohio State University; Miss Julia W. Merrill, branch librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library; Mr. Clayton A. McCleary, State Library Commissioner and Mr. C. Welles Reeder, reference librarian of the Ohio State University Library.

The addresses and summary of remarks are found on the following pages.

At the conclusion of the speaking the audience lingered to partake of refreshments that had been prepared by the ladies of the Ohio State Library staff.

THE STATE LIBRARY AND ITS FOUNDER.

ADDRESS BY HON. DANIEL J. RYAN.

We are surrounded tonight with treasures of knowledge that are the collection of a century. These 200,000 volumes represent the intellectual cravings and ideals of the state. Its material resources are abounding on all sides, and their development has been gratifying and phenomenal. But they are only the secondary element of the state's greatness. The desire for knowledge is an elemental passion in man. It is the origin of all progress, and it marks the point where the brute ends and man begins. For centuries the writings of men have been the vehicles of knowledge, and through them have come human progress, social development and educational advancements. The wider the dissemination of learning and of scientific and moral information, the happier and safer is the State. An ignorant democracy is a thing of danger. John Adams in one of his letters, says: "The preservation of the means of knowledge among the lowest ranks is more important to the public than all the property of all the rich men in the country." Doctor Channing, speaking of libraries, declares that "The diffusion of these silent teachers through the whole community is to work greater effects than artillery, machinery or legislation. Its peaceful agency is to supersede stormy revolutions."

A library to accomplish Dr. Channing's ideal should be democratic; it should contain all branches and sorts of literature, good but variant to the extreme. It should run the entire gamut of human knowledge. It should not be for the scientific or learned alone. It should have the

material to draw the unlearned, and the elementary seeker after knowledge. This is such a library. Herein may be found the best and noblest in all literature, with ample food for the trained and untrained mind. On these shelves may be found the histories of all peoples; the biographies of the great minds of the past; the records of the much-traveled; the wisdom of all the philosophers of humanity; the wisest works of political economy and social science; and all that is beautiful in the spiritual life of all ages. Here the citizen has the privilege of conversing with the greatest minds that have ever lived, of searching after the truth and of contemplating the beautiful. He can live with the distant, the unreal, the past and the future.

While collecting this general literature, that which may be classed as contemporary and local has not been neglected. The results are (1) a rare and complete array of governmental records both of the State and Nation; (2) the most complete collection in this country of Ohio newspapers dating from the territorial period to the present time; (3) topographical histories, being the annals of the counties, cities, and localities of the State; (4) thousands of pamphlets on all subjects, and (5) bound volumes of magazines for the past hundred years. To a great library everything is welcome. It should by all means be encyclopaedical. To the ordinary reader a passing pamphlet may be inconsequential; it may even be literary trash; but the trained librarian knows better, and he saves it for his shelves because he knows that to the next generation it may be a prized treasure. This idea was well expressed many years ago by Mr. Edwards of the great public library at Manchester, England, when he wrote: "What a Bodley at the end of the sixteenth century calls 'riff-raff,' which a library keeper should disdain to seek out and deliver to any man, a Bodley's librarian has to buy almost for his weight in gold at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for, by that time, it comes to be apparent that the most obscure pamphlet, or the flimsiest ballad, may throw a ray of light upon some pregnant fact of history, or may serve as the key to a mystery in some life career which gave to an age its very 'form and pressure'".

The present Librarian has been a persistent and intelligent executor of this policy. Every scrap of published literature in pamphlet or book form relating to the contemporary history of the State has been preserved by him. I can safely and conscientiously say, with some little knowledge on the subject, that he has done better and more valuable work in this direction than any of his predecessors. His own knowledge of literature, his scholarly discrimination, and his love for his work for the work's sake, has been the inspiration of this endeavor.

I have known personally every Librarian of this institution for forty-three years—commencing with the scholarly and accomplished Walter C. Hood, of Marietta, whom I knew when a boy in my teens. And during that period they were well qualified, with but very few exceptions,

by nature and education, to grace the position. But the spoils system of partisan politics made the State Library the prey of every administration for party workers. From 1874 to 1896, when Mr. Galbreath was first appointed—the official life of the Librarian was a few days over twenty-two months. It was the system of those times. Every Governor approached the change with reluctance, if not with disgust. They were all high-minded men—the men who were compelled to do this under party stress. No other pressure and no other system could have secured such results from William Allen, Rutherford B. Hayes, Charles Foster, George Hoadly, Joseph B. Foraker, James E. Campbell, and William McKinley. Each one, under this spoils system, as Goldsmith wrote of an English statesman,

> "Narrowed his mind, and to party gave up
> What was meant for mankind."

In the beginning the State Librarian was more of a custodian, and not a very good one at that, evidently, for in 1823 some one during the legislative vacation obtained access to the library and stole fifteen books together with a collection of pamphlets which had been presented by Jeremy Benthan and Robert Owen, the celebrated English philosophers and economists. Thereupon the legislature in 1824 passed the first law making the Library a state institution and fixing the salary of the librarian at $200 a year.

These early librarians were not men of literary attainments or scholarly culture, but were usually active politicians to whom the party in power was indebted. The first librarian, John L. Harper, was rather a stormy petrel in his day. He was one of Governor Worthington's active lieutenants and a prominent politician in the Democratic-Republican party. He was a participant and one of the active figures in the war against the United States Bank which was being waged just about the time he took charge of the library. It was the most sensational event of that era, and the subsequent connection of the first librarian of the State with it makes it interesting to refer to now. Upon the re-charter of the United States Bank it established two branches in Ohio, one at Cincinnati, January 28, 1817, and another at Chillicothe, October 13 of the same year. At this time Harper was serving as State Librarian. These branches under federal authority, issued notes extensively which had a tendency to depreciate the currency of the State banks. They, the Federal banks, also in due course of business acquired the notes of these banks in large quantities, and in calling upon them to redeem the paper, strained the solvency of those institutions. The result was that the notes of the State banks continued to depreciate and many of them became valueless. This situation developed a clamor in opposition to the United States Bank that soon became widespread throughout the State. The politicians and the local banks, some of which were the "wildcat" institutions of a later day, joined in a popular crusade. In

those days the banks formed the moneyed aristocracy of the State, and they owned many a rotten borough, for they had great influence in saying who should go to the legislature as well as who should remain at home. They revailed at the big banks with all the venom of political opponents and the commercial rancor of business rivals. Filled with the spirit of the silversmiths of Ephesus against Paul, they cried that under the new financial regime "our craft is in danger to be set at naught." The legislature took up the controversy and being under the domination of the Jeffersonian doctrine of antagonism to the United States Bank they passed drastic laws, the purpose of which was to drive it out of Ohio with the strong and resistless whip of taxation. They passed what was called in those days the "crowbar law", so called from the method of enforcement, and the first Librarian of Ohio was the man who weilded the crowbar. The law provided that the Bank of the United States, through its two branches in Ohio, should pay an annual tax of fifty thousand dollars as long as it did business within the State. To the Auditor of State was committed the duty of enforcing this law. He was authorized to appoint any person he might choose to collect the tax, and in case payment should be refused, and such person could not find in the banking room any bank notes, money, goods, chattels, or other property whereon to levy, he should go to each and any other room in such banking house "and every closet, box, or drawer in each banking house to open and search" and take possession of whatever might be found. John L. Harper was the man authorized by the Auditor of State to exercise this limitless right of search. Before the law went into effect, however, the Bank secured an injunction in the United States Court against the collection and levy of the tax. The counsel of the Auditor of State advised him that the papers served on him did not act as an injunction and he therefore told John L. Harper to go ahead. Harper thereupon proceeded to Chillicothe and entering the Bank's branch office there levied upon, forcibly took possession of the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. This was carted up to Columbus in a wagon, and the sum of ninety-eight thousand dollars was turned over to the Treasurer of State, and Harper kept two thousand dollars, being two per cent of the amount levied for his compensation. The subsequent part of the history is a mixture of tragedy and comedy. The injunction was made effective. The State of Ohio and Mr. Harper had to pay back the hundred thousand dollars, and the first Librarian of Ohio was sent to jail for *lese majeste* of Uncle Sam. Beyond this, he has left no record that would add either glory or instruction to the Ohio State Library, and yet all that has been narrated, it should be remembered, was done under authority of law and by virtue of his appointment from the Auditor of State.

We do not strike any name of note in the list of state librarians until we reach that of John Greiner, who served from 1845 to 1851. His

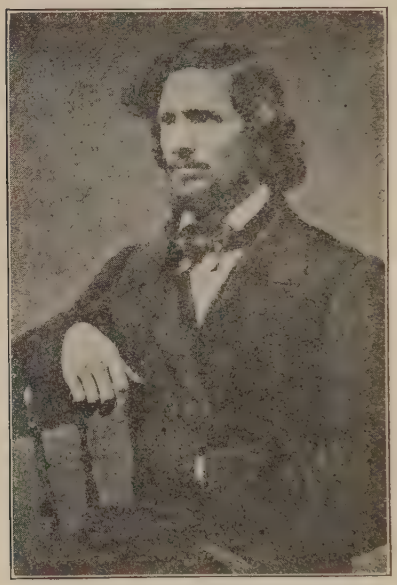
appointment largely came to him by reason of the celebrity obtained in the Hard Cider campaign of 1840. He was a song writer, and in the Harrison campaign songs were the most potent factors. The ecstatic condition of the popular mind was quick to respond to rhythm. It is a singular psychological fact that crowds are more responsive than the average unit of the crowd. In every cabin, on every by-way, in village and town, Whig gatherings were singing the songs of Harrison, and John Greiner furnished some of the most popular ones. His "Old Coon", "The Wagoner Boy", and others, recited the heroic deeds of General Harrison and Tom Corwin. Fletcher of Saltoun, a 17th century Scottish writer, said: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation". Happy, indeed, is the party with a candidate about whose life ballads can be sung. Out of this condition grew John Greiner's appointment as State Librarian. He was not without ability. He came to Ohio when a boy and soon became distinguished as a temperance orator. After he served as librarian he was appointed Indian agent to New Mexico, and in 1852 he was made Governor of that territory. He returned to Ohio and became successively editor of "The Ohio State Journal", and editor and proprietor of the Columbus "Gazette" and the Zanesville "Times". Subsequently he returned to New Mexico and became receiver in the United States land office at Santa Fe, and afterwards served as United States Subtreasurer there. He finally returned to Ohio, where he ended his days in Toledo May 13, 1871.

For the first thirty-seven years of the State Library it was in charge of men totally unfitted for the responsibility, and in no wise qualified to build it up. They were mediocre in intelligence, with no instincts toward literature, and were usually either "lame ducks" in politics, or were political managers who were valuable to their party by reason of the contact which existed between the legislature and the Library. For remember, during this period, the use of the books was confined to state officers and the members of the General Assembly. It was not until 1854 that the Library came under the control of one whose nature, education, and instincts fitted him eminently for the position of librarian. This was James W. Taylor, who was appointed by Governor William Medill, the first Democratic Governor under the constitution of 1851, and himself a man of scholarly tastes and attainments. Mr. Taylor had the book instinct in addition to his literary tastes. There is an instinct of the librarian which education in library classes or skill in card indexing can never develop. It comes from the love of books for their own sake, and it is as natural as the love of reading. James W. Taylor possessed this instinct. We find him in his report appealing for all copies of newspapers which were published in Ohio prior to 1830; and he tells us that "Measures have been taken to preserve every pamphlet printed in the State, no matter what the topic thereof may be. Every

such publication which has been found is gathered into a series of volumes entitled 'Ohio Pamphlets'. The collection is as yet limited, however, and publishers are urged to send whatever may be issued by them in this fugitive form for preservation in the State Library". He did more than all his predecessors to build up the Library and to gather material relating to Ohio. When appointed to his position he was a lawyer of excellent standing, and had practiced in both New York and Ohio. He was a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1849-50, secretary to the commission to revise the judicial code of the State in 1851-2, and was State Librarian from 1854 to 1856. He had engaged also in journalism and published the Cincinnati "Signal" in 1847. In 1854 he published a "History of the State of Ohio: First Period, 1620-1787". It was evidently the first volume of a complete and pretentious history of the State. It is valuable for its accuracy and detail and for a full treatment of the period covered, and one regrets that he never completed his work. If he had done so in as thorough a manner as he commenced it there would have been little left for subsequent historians to write about. In 1857 he wrote a "Manual of the Ohio School System", which is a most extensive and authoritative history of education in Ohio. During the Civil War and for several years afterwards Mr. Taylor was special agent of the United States Treasury, being charged with making inquiries into the reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada. In 1856 he removed to St. Paul, Minnesota, and from there he made many contributions to literature. In 1862 he wrote "Alleghania, or the Strength of the Union and the Weakness of Slavery in the High Lands of the South". In 1867 he wrote in connection with John R. Brown "The Mineral Resources of the United States". In 1882 he wrote "Forest and Fruit Culture in Manitoba", and in addition wrote pamphlets relating to the Indian question in connection with the Sioux war of 1862-3. His other writings consist of "The Railroad System of Minnesota and Northwestern Connections", published in 1859, and "Reports to Treasury Department on Commercial Relations with Canada", published at Washington, D. C., in 1860, 1862, 1868. In the later days of his life he served as United States Consul at Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he died April 28, 1893. This man held the office of Librarian for two years and succumbed to the party pressure of Republican spoilsmen when Salmon P Chase became Governor.

It was fortunate for the Library that Mr. Taylor's successor took equal rank as one in every way qualified to take charge of this institution. Governor Chase's nominee was William Turner Coggeshall. His whole life had been spent in a literary atmosphere. He came to Akron, Ohio, from Pennsylvania in his early manhood and embarked in the publication of a temperance paper which bore the peculiar name, "The Roarer". In Cincinnati, to which place he removed in 1847, he became identified with "The Genius of the West", a monthly magazine of western

literature. With him in this connection was associated Coates Kinney, the author of the exquisite lyric, "Rain on the Roof". With his literary work in Cincinnati, Coggeshall engaged in newspaper reporting. He travelled with General Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian liberator, in 1851-2, From 1856 until 1862 he was State Librarian. He was a man of varied literary tastes. In 1851 he published "Signs of the Times", a book on spirit rappings, and he has some good novels to his credit, "Easy Warren and his Contemporaries" (New York, 1854), and "Oakshaw, or the Victim of Avarice" (Cincinnati, 1855), were both popular works in their day and had wide circulation. He is remembered chiefly by his "Poets and Poetry of the West" (Columbus, 1860), as being the first effort to perpetuate the poetical sentiment of the west and to present an anthology of, at that time, a new field of literature. In 1865 he published "The Journeys of A. Lincoln as President-elect and as President Martyred", now a rare and much-sought-for item of Lincolnana. His other works, "Home Hits and Hints", and "Stories of Frontier Adventure" were very popular in their day. He was a most industrious worker and covered in his writings a varied territory. As a practical moralizer he wrote sketches for young men on "State Governors", on "Millard Fillmore", and "Young America". As a historical writer he prepared papers on "The Origin and Progress of Printing", "Men and Events in the West", and "Literary and Artistic Enterprises in Cincinnati". In 1859 he published "A Discourse in the Social and Moral Advantages of the Cultivation of Local Literature". All the while he was appearing on the public platform in the capacity of a lecturer in which he obtained considerable popularity. He served as State Librarian during the administrations of Governors Chase and Dennison. During the Civil War he volunteered and was appointed on the staff of Governor Dennison with the rank of Colonel. His services in West Virginia resulted in a permanent disease which finally caused his death. Retiring from the army, he became private secretary to Governor J. B. Cox. In 1865 he was appointed United States Minister to Quito, Ecuador, and immediately removed to



W. T. Coggeshall.

South America. His health was broken and incapable of restoration; he died at Quito, August 2, 1867, aged 42 years. No man in his generation did more for the promotion of literary culture in the west than Coggeshall; and no man in the century of its existence has reflected more credit on the Ohio State Library. His monument lies, aside from his official worth, in his "Poets and Poetry of the West", which has done so much to keep green the memory of our early authors, and to give prestige to the men and women who deserved literary honor.

The establishment of this Library was modestly announced by Governor Thomas Worthington in his message to the General Assembly as follows: "The fund made subject to my control by the last General Assembly, besides paying the ordinary demands upon it and for articles mentioned in the resolution of the legislature of the 28th of January, 1817, has enabled me to purchase a small but valuable collection of books which are intended as the commencement of a library for this State. In the performance of this act I was guided by what I conceived the best interests of the State by placing within reach of the representatives of the people such information as will aid them in the discharge of the important duties they are delegated to perform."

Subsequently Governor Worthington, in a message to the General Assembly, presented a catalogue of the books purchased, being five hundred and nine volumes. They embraced a wide range of literature of the most substantial character, and it is noticed that in the entire list there is but one work of poetry, that being Milton's "Paradise Lost". In this list we observe the works of authors representing the best literature in ancient and modern times. The foundation thus laid by Governor Worthington has increased year by year until there has been formed one of the most comprehensive and valuable collections of books possessed by any state in the Union. The man who did this work has erected for himself a monument more lasting than brass, and has rendered the generations that followed him his grateful debtors. It would be neglecting the chief obligation of this occasion not to give more than a passing notice to Thomas Worthington,—a full-length portrait of the man and his career will certainly add to the interest of this evening.

The seat of government of Ohio by act of the General Assembly was removed from Chillicothe to Columbus, and from the second Tuesday of October 1816, the latter town became the Capital of Ohio. On December 2, 1816, the General Assembly met for the first time in Columbus in the new State House, which was located on the northeast corner of Third and State Streets.

The first Governor of Ohio to be inaugurated in the new capital was Thomas Worthington, of Chillicothe; he assumed his second term and delivered his inaugural address before both houses of the legislature on December 9, 1816. He had been elected to his first term in 1814, and to accept the governorship he resigned his seat in the United States

Senate. Worthington was one of that great triumvirate, his compeers being Edward Tiffin and Nathaniel Massie, who conducted to a successful termination the struggle which resulted in Ohio becoming a state. These men, all Virginians, all Jeffersonian Democrats, resisted the encroachment of Federalism as embodied in the administration of Governor Arthur St. Clair of the Northwest Territory. After a bitter contest, they succeeded in removing the aged and gallant Governor, and finally forced, with the assistance of Thomas Jefferson, statehood on the people of Ohio. It was a magnificent contest, a great conquest, and subsequent generations have been laid under eternal obligations for their patriotic and persistent struggle. In this struggle for statehood, Edward Tiffin was the master spirit and Thomas Worthington was his chief associate and lieutenant. When Ohio became a state, Worthington was one of the two United States Senators elected by the first legislature which met March 1, 1803. He at once took an important rank in the Senate as a man of affairs, and he was recognized as a practical authority on the wants of the new state and the west generally. He was not a stranger at the seat of government. In the struggles just past he was first at Philadelphia and afterward at Washington, representing the Democratic Republicans in their fight against Governor St. Clair and the admission of Ohio to the Union. He was recognized by President Jefferson as one of the influential leaders of the party to which both belonged and as a staunch friend of the administration.

On the questions of canals, internal improvements, and public lands, he was an acknowledged authority. Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, wrote to President Jefferson, November 25, 1807, concerning Worthington, as follows: "Whatever relates to land cannot be too closely watched. Worthington is the only one in the Senate since Breckenridge left, who understands the subject. He has been perfectly faithful in that respect, trying to relieve as much as possible the purchasers generally from being pressed for payment". On the last day of his first term in the Senate he secured the passage of a resolution that was the precursor of the Government construction of the National Road.

He was again elected to the Senate December 10, 1810, to serve out the unfinished term ending March 4, 1815, of Return J. Meigs, Jr., who had been elected Governor, and right here I want to call attention to a fact that crops out in the early period of which I speak, not only in Ohio but in other states. It is this: We find numerous instances of men resigning the United States senatorship to accept the office of Governor of their state. They seem to have more ambition to serve their people by attention to domestic affairs than to occupy a post of honor at the distant capitol. Meigs did this. So did Worthington, as well as several other Governors of Ohio. When Worthington returned to his second term as Senator, he again became the authority on the public domain. He served on the Committee on Public Land, Manufactures, and Indian Affairs. The establishment of the General Land Office

was the result of a bill introduced by him which became a law April 24, 1812. He secured an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars to finish the first section of a National Road, which was one of the results of his project of internal improvements.

Although a Democrat he opposed and voted against the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, because he believed it was ill-advised, and that the country was not prepared for the conflict. His opposition, however, stopped with his vote, for he supported all the war measures of that time.

On December 8, 1814, he was inaugurated at Chillicothe as Governor. He had resigned from the United States Senate the day before. The war was still on, and Governor Worthington lent all his energies to sustaining the national government and protecting Ohio. During his term as Governor, he constantly urged the legislature to take steps looking to the construction of canals and the advancement of education.

After serving two terms as Governor, he represented Ross County in the Twentieth and Twenty-first General Assemblies in 1821-23. He afterwards acted on the Canal Commission with Alfred Kelly and did much to promote a canal system, being the first Governor to advocate that improvement.

Thomas Worthington may be justly styled one of the master spirits of Ohio. His long public career was productive of much good. He was distinctly a constructive statesman, giving his whole life to founding and building Ohio to greatness. When we look over his work in this State, we find that he was the first Governor to urge free schools for the poor, to restrict the liquor traffic in favor of temperance, to found a great library, to recommend a Governor's mansion, to grant prisoners in the penitentiary a portion of their labor income, to urge a state normal school, to establish county infirmaries, to advocate canals, and to promote internal improvements by state roads. Measuring his full career, both in national and state affairs, we can well agree with Salmon P. Chase, that he was a "gentleman of distinguished ability and great influence".

His lasting memorial is this Library. Other governors have contributed their part in developing the material greatness of the State, and some have added glory to its name by valor in war, but the man who has furnished means of happiness and elevation of spirit to the thousands that have gone before, and through whose instrumentality thousands to come will be benefitted, has left a monument that time cannot destroy and men cannot forget.

Mr. E. O. Randall spoke informally and said in part;

The opportunity of paying my tribute to the history and services of this good library, which have now extended over a century in the State of Ohio, is fully appreciated. Among the recollections of my earliest days are those of coming, first with my good father, who was not only

a book-reader but a book-writer, to this library, and then in my teens of drawing books for myself. At that time the privilege of drawing books from this library was confined to the state officials, but my father being a clergyman and at times officiating as the Chaplain of the Legislature put him on the privileged list and that included his son. I have been a very constant patron of this library, and it has almost become a second home to me; certainly a literary refuge.

The thought that most impresses me in connection with the history of the library system throughout the country is the growth in the use and usefulness of public libraries. Up to within a generation ago—say thirty years—a public library was generally an indiscriminate collection of books, more or less wisely selected, and usually with little or no classification or even order of arrangement in the shelves. Then came the systematic catalogue and topical classification under general and specific subjects. I need not mention those methods, you are familiar with them. And then the elevation, so to speak, of the librarian and assistants to what might be called a profession. Special education and training for the duties of those in attendance upon the library were required. Previous to that time all that an attendant in the library was expected to do was to receive the books as they came in, place them on some shelf and hand out to the patron any book which might be called for. Further than that his duties did not extend, they were purely mechanical. Under the new requirement and qualifications, it has become the duty of the attendant to assist the reading patron in securing not only the volumes on certain subjects which he may require, but make helpful suggestions. I can best illustrate this by my first experience under the new regime. Some thirty years ago it was incumbent upon me to prepare an address to be delivered before the Art School of Columbus. I was requested to speak on the history of American painting, a subject concerning which I knew little, nor did I even know where to find the material for my purpose. I made a visit to New York City, proceeded to the Astor Library, made a statement of my wants to the chief librarian, and he at once said, "We can 'fix you up,' please return tomorrow and we will assign one of our assistants to you, with an alcove where you may work, and all publications upon or referring to the subject will be at your elbow." I found that to be the case, and for several days I had at my disposal the very best that had been published on that subject, prepared my address and came back and filled my audience with admiration and amazement at the vast, comprehensive and scholarly knowledge I had on that subject! It will thus be seen what a boon to ignorance and illiteracy has been the later library system. And this state library and its efficient corps has been doing that sort of work. The public library has thus became the main source of aid and inspiration to the literary clubs which are now so numerous in this country, indeed, the library is now recognized as second to the school and college in its usefulness to the

reading public. You will recall that Andrew Carnegie called the library the university of the people, and he said to me once, when I had the rare privilege of meeting him in New York, that he had chosen the library as the main avenue for his beneficence because it brought to the people knowledge and learning which, more than any other feature in our social life, brought them the intelligence that might make them good citizens. I tender my congratulations to you on the happy occasion which you now celebrate.

Hon. J. H. Newman was introduced and briefly expressed his pleasure at being present and bespoke a more liberal support for the library.

Mr. John J. Pugh, librarian of the Columbus public library, spoke appreciatively of the service rendered by the State Library to the city of Columbus through many years prior to the organization of the city library and through the early years of its growth. Before the city library had built up a department of bound magazines and periodicals patrons had been referred to the State Library to consult these valuable sources of information. Even under existing conditions when the city library is well supplied with books to meet the popular demand there is still room, he declared, for cooperation and he had always appreciated the privilege of working in the Columbus field with those in charge of the State Library.

Miss Olive Jones, librarian, of the library of the Ohio State University, spoke interestingly of the achievements of the State Library in recent years as follows:

It is a pleasure to bring the greetings of the State University to the State Library this evening. Of the educational agencies of the State the Ohio State University is one of the youngest and it is with a feeling of real veneration that it sends its congratulations to its co-laborer, which has over twice the years of service to its credit in the educational field. To me it seems a great and beautiful thing to have given one hundred years of able and gracious service to the state. It is a record to be proud of and I hope that tonight the library as an institution and the persons individually who are at present making that institution possible, will allow themselves to enjoy to the utmost the feeling of work well done, than which there is no greater pleasure in life.

My first memories of the Library date back to the time, when as a child, I was brought to this room by my father. Being a clergyman, he was allowed the privilege of withdrawing books from the library and

he made use of the opportunity. At that time the privilege of withdrawal of books was restricted to state officials and to clergymen. Just why clergymen should have been looked upon as a favored class, I do not know. Possibly, it was thought they stood in special need of the inspiration of books. Be that as it may, it was a great privilege, and to me as a child the going to the State Library was a great event. I remember my first visit and the feeling of awe with which I surveyed this room with its high walls lined with books and its air of scholarly quiet. After all these years, and after many, many visits to the Library, a little of that feeling is still with me whenever I enter the room.

And it *is* a beautiful room! No amount of modern efficiency which stores books in compactly arranged stacks and gives instant service by means of trolleys and push buttons, can give that bookish flavor which you find in these old book halls, literally halls of learning This room is a fine example of the old style library and I devoutely hope that when the great new building, so greatly needed and so richly deserved, is erected for the State Library, this room will be kept as the State House branch. With all the excrescences removed, which much crowding has made necessary, the room would regain the repose and dignity which it has lost to some degree, and would give ample space for all the library activities which need to remain in the State House itself.

I have spoken of the activities which need to remain in the State House, thus implying the fact that there are others which can be carried on outside of these restricted walls. And this is the case, for times have greatly changed since the Library was expected to serve only state officials and such privileged classes as the clergymen of Columbus. The beginning of this change was twenty-one years ago, when Mr. Rutherford P. Hayes, son of President Hayes, and a patriotic citizen of Ohio, centered his interests for a while on the State Library. Mr. Hayes thought that the State Library ought to be what its name implied, a library for the state, and he worked to make it so. His great desire was to see it taken out of politics and to this end he worked for the formation of a bi-partisan library commission. The law forming such a commission was passed in April, 1896 Mr. Hayes was made a member, the other members being Mr. J. F. McGrew and Mr. Charles A Reynolds. In the hands of this Commission were placed all the affairs of the library and one of its first acts was to elect Mr. Charles B. Galbreath librarian. With the exception of about four years, Mr. Galbreath has been the state librarian ever since. The Commission immediately extended the privilege of withdrawing books from the State Library to every citizen of the state. That privilege has never been taken away.

In the admirable address which Mr. Ryan has made this evening he said that he purposely refrained from commenting upon the recent history of the library, because it was known to every one. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if that is so. At times I am inclined to think that it is a very

small per cent of Ohio citizens who realize what has been done for them in these comparatively recent years.

In addition to the reorganization of the library, classifying and cataloging it according to approved modern methods, and opening it to the whole state, it seemed desirable to go out into the state and to carry the books to the people. Other states had done this to some extent, so why not Ohio? The Commission soon after the organization authorized the beginning of a Traveling Library Department, and in 1898 the first special appropriation was made for it. This work has had a tremendous growth and the traveling libraries are still carrying comfort and enjoyment to all parts of Ohio.

In 1908, the Organization Department was established. Small libraries over the state were needing help in solving their problems. They were naturally turning to the State Library and help was freely given, but there was need of some one to go out to the libraries and help the communities in the organization and establishment of new libraries. A library organizer, working under the direction of the state librarian, is doing this work.

Special reference work along the lines of legislation was being required. Some states had legislative reference bureaus. Again, why not Ohio? And the Legislative Reference Department of the State Library was established in 1910.

In all of these lines of work the Ohio Library Association was interested and through the legislative committee some work was done, but the brunt of pushing the measures through to successful accomplishment fell upon Mr. Galbreath and to him is due the credit for Ohio's standing in the front line of state library development. But it was all done so quietly, so unostentatiously, that, as I have said, I wonder how generally people, both in and out of the state, know of all that is being accomplished. But, as some one has said, Ohioans take things for granted. A thing ought to be done, therefore it is done. That seems to be true, so far as the library situation is concerned.

But of all the varied functions of the library, the greatest one to my mind is the one to which probably all the others contribute. I refer to the State Library being the virtual head of the library system of the state. It is the reservoir from which the small library can borrow books needed by its community. It is a depository of technical knowledge which can be drawn upon by any library worker. It is the headquarters for all library movements. This is a high calling. Other lines of work can well be left to scientific and historical societies, but to the State Library only, governed by a commission, administered by an able librarian, is entrusted the welfare of the great body of small public libraries of the state. I trust that no question of expediency will ever be allowed to interfere with this work and privilege.

Mr. Chairman, again I congratulate you.

Miss Julia W. Merrill, branch librarian of the Cincinnati public library and instructor in the summer library school, conveyed the congratulations of the public library of Cincinnati.

Mr. Clayton A. McCleary, State Library Commissioner, stated that while he had been a member of the Board of Commissioners for a short time only he was very greatly interested in the work and in the exercises of the evening to which it had been his pleasure to listen. He expressed hearty sympathy with all efforts to extend the usefulness of the State Library to those in official position and to the citizens of the entire state.

State Librarian, C. B. Galbreath, spoke in part as follows:

Libraries are of remote antiquity. In ancient times the position of librarian was not without honor. When civilization was young on the banks of the Nile the "hall of books" was regarded as a sacred place and the "keeper of books" was a man of prominence and power in the court of the ruler of the realm.

In Palestine and Greece have been unearthed the remains of libraries dating back more than a thousand years before the Christian era. The story of the Alexandrian library is familiar to all. At one time it is said to have numbered over 700,000 volumes. It had a catalog of 120 volumes. Only in recent years, however, have we learned that its destruction by the caliph Omar is probably a myth. It perished at different intervals in the fierce contests of religious enthusiasts. The fanaticism of that far off time, culminating in the triumph of the Mohammedan Arabs, A. D. 641, brought to ruin this great treasury of the learning of the ancient world.

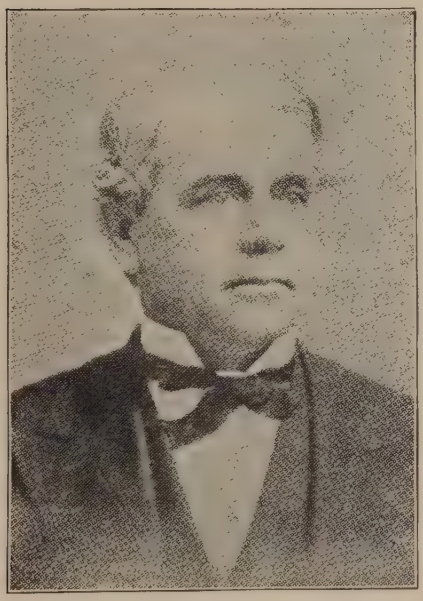
Many of the libraries were archives—the records of cities and states—in other words official libraries, state libraries, if you please. In the second century before Christ, Tiberius Gracchus, the great commoner of Rome, built on the Aventine Hill the first temple dedicated to liberty and in it placed the library of the republic—prophetic of the liberating influence of books which, in a later age should go to the whole world.

Some time in the year 1817 the State Library of Ohio came into existence. The exact date has not been definitely fixed. Early in the year Governor Worthington, from his contingent fund, purchased in Philadelphia 509 books for which he paid $945.67. The date of payment was June 13th of that year. On the second of December following a book stand was purchased for thirty-five dollars and on the 26th of the month one dozen chairs for twenty-four dollars. Rules and regulations were prescribed and a librarian, Mr. John L. Harper, was placed in charge. All this was done by Governor Worthington without authorization by the legislature. It is certainly a high tribute to his interest in the establishment of the library that he should make such use of a portion of his contingent fund and rely upon the approval of the Gen-

eral Assembly. This worthy venture, however, was certain to meet popular approval as it did later through the representatives of the people.

The subsequent history of the State Library has been set forth in the splendid address of Mr. Ryan. I will call your attention only, and that very briefly, to the contrast presented by library conditions one hundred years ago and today.

In the year 1817, about twenty subscription libraries had been established in Ohio by legislative action. How many others were in existence at that time will probably never be known. While the number was comparatively small it attests the early interest of the people of Ohio in the establishment and use of libraries.



James W. Taylor.

In the year 1817 there was not, however, a single free public library in Ohio or in the entire United States. The opening of the Boston free public library, the first of its kind in this country, did not occur until thirty years later.

In 1817 librarianship was not thought of as a profession and my predecessor at the other end of the century that we celebrate received the highest salary paid a librarian in Ohio — two dollars a day while the legislature was in session.

In 1917, one hundred years later, every city in the state, many of the progressive villages and townships and eight counties have free public libraries. The State Library is open on equal terms to all the citizens of Ohio. Under our Board of Library Commissioners have already been organized the traveling library department, the library organization department and the legislative reference department. A small appropriation at the last session of the General Assembly has enabled our department of library organization to open and conduct a successful summer school at Ohio State University which closes its first term tomorrow.

The State Library has steadily grown until it numbers about 200,000 volumes and its service now reaches every county in Ohio.

The greatest need of the library, as suggested in the letter that I have read from Demarcus C. Brown, State Librarian of Indiana, is more room. The space assigned it in the Capitol building has for years been recognized as wholly inadequate. We have here a collection of books and documents of great value, many of which could not be duplicated, and most of which are in frequent demand by scholars and students. Ample room should be provided for their convenient use. The state has properly provided modern library buildings for Miami University at Oxford, the Ohio University at Athens, the Ohio State University and the State Archaeological and Historical Society. Money has been appropriated for the erection of an executive mansion and other state buildings. We have an abiding faith that in the not distant future the state will provide for its library, the oldest institution of its kind west of the Alleghenies and one of the oldest in the United States.

In 1817, one century ago, this country was at peace with the world and at peace with herself. Partisan controversy had almost disappeared and the young republic had entered upon a career of "good feeling" and marvelous internal development. The thoughts of our forefathers naturally turned to education and the pursuits of peaceful industry.

Today we are in a world war. At last, if not at the Armageddon of Holy Writ, at the Armageddon of history we stand. The largest present problem that faces this library and its commission is to provide books and periodicals for the soldiers within the limits of our state.

A sufficient number of these books should be promptly provided by the state to meet present pressing demands. The expense would thus be distributed generally and no citizen would complain of an expenditure properly made for this patriotic educational enterprise.

If the books cannot be furnished by the state, however, the means must be found to provide them. The war has added to rather than diminished the demand for reading matter from the civilian population of the state. This must be met and in addition a library service must be provided for the soldiers that will reflect credit upon Ohio.

Library progress here in the Middle West has been gratifying but comparatively slow through the past century. It is never safe to prophesy conditions a century hence. But we may rest assured that, viewed from the year 2017, present results will seem meager indeed. The achievements of that far off time, however, will be the fruition, in a masure at least, of the progressive spirit and the wider vision of those who labor in the library field of today.

OHIO.

BY J. J. BLISS, BUCYRUS.

Lo, next the Union stars and stripes.
Ohio's pennant streaming!
Lo, in the field of brightest blue,
The Buckeye emblem gleaming!
Come muses, then, in chorus join
To voice Ohio's praises;
Aright your sweetest notes attune
And choose your fairest phrases.

CHORUS:

Ohio, our Ohio, most favored by the fates!
Hurrah for dear Ohio, and our great United States.

Sing forests vast of stately trees,
Choice orchards ranked in order,
Sweet silver streams and lakelet gems
That fertile fields embroider.
Sing mineral wealth beneath the soil,
That ages long hath waited,—
Coal, iron, oil, gas, stone and clay,
For human use created.

CHORUS:

Sing folk who builded mystic mounds
On plains and bluffs so quaintly,
Entombing selves and handicraft
That tell their story faintly.
Sing Redmen speeding birch canoes
On sparkling lakes and rivers,
Or trailing deer and buffalo
With arrows, bows and quivers.

CHORUS:

O, eldest Heir of Old Northwest,
Freeborn thy sons and daughters,
From Belle Riviere's majestic flow
To Erie's rolling waters!
Sage Cutler, Putnam and St. Clair
God-fathered thy rude childhood,
While pioneers of brawn and brain
Tamed virgin soil and wildwood.

CHORUS:

The richest, reddest, bravest blood
Of many mingled races
Hath won for thee, O Buckeye State
The most exalted places.
Great Garfield and McKinley, slain,
Enshrined in martyr glory,
But type a myriad laureled folk
Who grace thy golden story.

CHORUS:

O State supreme in thought and deed,
In statecraft, art and science,
In all progressive industry
And noble self-reliance!
When o'er our loved United States
Portentous war-clouds lower
Imperium in imperio,
How great thy martial power!

CHORUS:

The home, the school, the church, the state,
Earth's crowning evolutions,
In thee, Ohio, are renowned
And sacred institutions.

Then, forward, brave Ohio State,
Thy progress know no pauses;
Carnations type thy moral worth
In all Earth's noblest causes.

CHORUS:

Great Spirit, now to Thee we raise
Our grateful hearts and voices,
For all the bounteous, goodly gifts
In which Ohio rejoices.
Perfect our civic righteousness,
Increase our sweet communion;
Bless Thou our loved United States,
And keep us true to Union.

CHORUS:

Ohio, our Ohio, most favored by the fates!
Hurrah for dear Ohio, and our great United States.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XXVIII. No. 1. E. O. Randall JANUARY, 1919

BIOGRAPHY OF GROVER CLEVELAND

The following letter, which we gladly publish, speaks for itself:

NEW YORK CITY, October 31, 1918.

Editor, Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

DEAR SIR: I should be grateful if friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents connected with his life, which would be of interest in the preparation of a biography, would communicate as soon as practicable with Mr. William Gorham Rice of Albany. Any such comment, letters, and accounts of incidents will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires.

It is my hope that Mr. Rice, aided by such material and by his own already existing collection, may feel disposed to undertake a biography of Mr. Cleveland during the ensuing year.

The assembled letters, comment, publications and records now proposed to be brought together, will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany for the use of Dr. John H. Finley, who some time ago invited Mr. Rice to collaborate with him, or whoever finally may prepare a definitive and documented biography. The collection thus deposited will also be of permanent value because of its accessibility to anyone who in the future may desire to obtain for historical or other purposes knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's traits, and his opinions and administrative record on public questions.

Mr. Rice was a secretary to Governor Cleveland in Albany and was later, by President Cleveland's appointment, a United States Civil Service Commissioner at Washington, and is now a New York State Civil Service Commissioner. He was associated with Mr. Cleveland from 1882 onward, and was always an esteemed and devoted friend.

Inquiries concerning the requests and suggestions made in this letter may be addressed to Mr. Rice at his residence, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, or at The Capitol, Albany.

I am,

Very truly yours,

FRANCES F. CLEVELAND PRESTON.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.

UNDERGRADUATE AND PEDAGOGUE.

BY ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Salmon Portland Chase was a significant member of that group of political radicals who plunged the nation into civil convulsions by their accession to governmental power in the late '50's. Much has been written of Chase, the anti-slavery lawyer, the organizer of the Liberty party, the war financier, the chief justice; but of Chase, the youth, the college student, the school teacher, little has been said. Yet these plastic years were the most critical ones of his life; they were the years in which he developed the mental habits and human contacts which were profoundly to influence his later career.

The letters of Chase to his college friend Thomas Sparhawk, which have recently been acquired by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, are chiefly valuable for the insight one may acquire of Chase in this formative period. The first group of seven letters were written while Chase was an undergraduate at Dartmouth College. Marked by college-boy pleasantries the correspondence is wholesome and hearty and innocent of subtlety; it also affords glimpses of the deeply religious strain which influenced Chase's maturer years. From a different point of view these letters are instructive for the side-lights they throw upon student life in the '20's in an American college and upon the difficulties which lay in ambush for the district school teacher. In the second series of letters Chase had removed to Washington, there to earn a livelihood while preparing himself for his life work. The last letter of this group was written from Cincinnati where Chase was beginning to take the first venturesome steps in a career which was to shed much honor on himself and his adopted state. Of these later letters more will be said presently. The two groups of letters now appear in print for the first time.

I.

Salmon P. Chase was born on January 13, 1808, in Cornish, New Hampshire. When Salmon was a lad of seven the Chase family removed to Keene and there his father died a year or so later leaving to his mother a slender property and ten children. The boy's schooling began about this time: he received fragmentary instruction in a young ladies' school, in two district schools at Keene, and in a private school at Windsor, Vt., and later he studied Greek under a tutor at Keene. In after years he remarked of his schooling at Windsor: "I was counted quite a prodigy; but I see now that thorough instruction and acquisition of one quarter would have been much better than superficial coursing through the whole."[1]

Early in 1820 Chase felt the first tug of that attraction which was finally to draw him permanently to Ohio. His uncle, Bishop Philander Chase, of Worthington, offered to take the lad under his tutelage, an invitation which his mother gladly embraced. By flatboat, carriage and steamboat he journeyed to Cleveland; and then by horseback, employing the familiar frontier practice of "ride and tie," he arrived at his destination in Worthington sometime in June, 1820. Chase's sojourn in Worthington left him with few pleasant memories. The bishop was an extremely good man, head of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio, but a stern moral guardian and exacting taskmaster. The lad received some desultory instruction in a brick school-house on the west side of the town square, and read theological works under the bishop's direction—hardy diet for a boy of twelve! "Out of school," he related in after years, "I did chores; took grain to the mill and brought back meal or flour; milked the cows; drove them to and from pasture; took wool to the carding factory over on the Scioto, an important journey to me; built fires and brought in wood in the winter time; helped gather sugar water and make sugar when winter first

[1] Extract from a letter written to J. T. Trowbridge to assist him in preparing the biographical sketch entitled The Ferry Boy and the Financier. Quoted in Robert B. Warden's An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (Cincinnati 1874), 60.

turned to spring; helped plant and sow in the later spring. In most of whatever a boy could do on a farm I did a little."[2]

In 1822 Bishop Chase, whose income from the church was extremely meager, was offered the presidency of Cincinnati College. Thence he removed with his family and nephew in November of that year. Cincinnati College was an institution in which "the requirements of scholarship was [sic] by no means exacting," as Chase himself testified in later years.[3] Entering the college as a Freshman he soon was able to advance himself to Sophomore standing by a little extra study.

His description of Cincinnati during the period of his first residence in that city is of interest in view of the account that he gives of the city in a letter to Sparhawk on his return there as a fledgling lawyer in 1830: "Cincinnati was then a comparatively small town. From Fifth Street north, there were few buildings. The Court-house had been removed from its original location in the square on which the college stood to the center of a lot of ground on Main Street—the same lot on which the existing Court-house stands. Mr. Este, a prominent lawyer, had built a residence not far from the Court-house. I remember no other building of consequence north of Fifth Street. A trade had sprung up on the river; but there was little, comparatively, in the interior. The river was a wonder to me; especially when swollen by the spring flood; and a still greater wonder were the steamboats—inconsiderable crafts, doubtless, but to me monsters."[4]

Bishop Chase did not long remain content with his new honors and within less than a year resigned his position and determined to go to England to seek aid for the establishment of a theological seminary. Salmon accompanied the Chase family on their journey eastward and in the autumn of 1823 arrived at the home in Keene from which he had departed some three years earlier. His college education being as yet incomplete, it was decided in family council that he should renew his studies at Dartmouth College with such partial support as he might effect

[2] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 83.
[3] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 93.
[4] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 96.

through school-teaching and such assistance as his mother might spare from her scanty means.

A few months after his return he secured a position as master of a school in a district of the adjoining town of Roxbury; but his employment ended abruptly within less than a fortnight when one of the bullies of the school, actually older than the boy-teacher, complained to the school committee that he had been suppressed too vigorously by the master! Early in the spring Chase attended the academy at Royalton, Vt., in order to prepare for the admission examination at Dartmouth during the approaching commencement, for it was his intention to enter as a Junior. This process proved to be a pleasant enough experience inasmuch as Chase did not regard it very seriously and diluted his studies with liberal doses of social intermingling.

When the critical day for the examination arrived, he went to Hanover and, as he related many years later, "I * * * found the professors much engaged. I was sent from one to another, questioned a little—luckily for me with no great severity —and was admitted. One of the questions by the learned professor of mathematics amused me. He undertook to fathom my geographical attainments, and asked: 'Where do the Hottentots live?' I was tempted to answer, 'In Hanover,' but prudence restrained me."[5] Now came several weeks of vacation following the Dartmouth commencement; and then Chase returned to Hanover a Junior in fact.

"While rooming in the college," Chase declared in reminiscence, "I boarded, for the greater part of the time, in club—that is to say, a number of the students organized themselves into an association; rented a room; provided food and attendance through a committee, and assessed the expense on the association. If any one desired board without being a member of the association, he could have it on paying an established weekly rate; and there were a number who did so. I was one."[6]

During the winter which followed his first term in Dartmouth he again engaged to teach a district school, this time at

[5] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 112.
[6] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 112.

Reading, and he was able to return to college with the earnings of seven or eight weeks' teaching. Of this venture in "school-keeping" he gives a highly colored account in one of his letters to Sparhawk. The letters that are printed below furnish an excellent running account of the remainder of Chase's course in Dartmouth.

HANOVER, Novr. 29. 1825.

DEAR TOM,

Why have you not written to me before now? I have been expecting a letter some time and have at last concluded that the reason you have not written is that you did not know where to direct. The Government were exceedingly wroth at your manner of departure. I understand that the President[7] told Elliott that as "you had gone off without liberty you might get back as you could." Which being interpreted signifies that you will have to pay two dollars fine & write a confession perhaps into the bargain on your return. I hope however that the latter will not be required for I know that if you do not think you have done wrong you will never write a confession. Folsom[8] has got the school at Haverhill. Swasy recieved a letter stating that Holmes might have it, but Holmes was already elsewhere engaged. Swasey then engaged the school for Folsom altho' he knew that I expected and was waiting for it. I recieved a letter from Swasey stating that he was sorry I could not have the school for it was engaged to Folsom, when he knew that he had engaged it for him at the same time that I was expecting it. I don't think that Swasey has acted very honourably in this matter. I care not much about the *school* as I shall spend my vacation more pleasantly without it than with, but it is the disposition which S———— has manifested. I do not now expect to keep school this winter; so you may for the present at least direct your letters to old Dartmouth.

I recieved a letter from Punchard yesterday — he wrote in fine spirits and appears to enjoy himself very much at home. I will extract one sentence for your perusal. "Tom Sparhawk is the last person I should have thought of taking a school — If he don't cry heu miserabile! I shall lose my guess." What think you Tom? Shall you persevere unto the end in school-keeping? Or shall you become tired of the business and take French leave of your school before it is half through? I am glad your father likes my profile but am greatly afraid if he should ever happen to see me he would say that there is very little resemblance between it & the original. *Creeping Moses* left the plain soon after you went away. He was in my room for about 6 hours every day from the time he took those likenesses till he went. Folks say that

[7] The Rev. Bennett Tyler was president of Dartmouth College from 1822 to 1828.

[8] Nathaniel Folsom was in later years to occupy a chair in Meadville Theological Seminary, Pa.

the one which was drawn for you resembles you very much. I will now mention a circumstance which *Dan* requested me to write to you about lest I should forget it. Ward says that Kent never bought any wood of him for you — that he had promised Gen. Poole some wood and drew that half-cord for him. I heard Ward say this so that if Dan did not tell Ward what to say, you must have been in the wrong respecting Dan's conduct in this matter. He says he was very much hurt by your suspicions and wished me to tell you how matters really were. I have told you what Ward said and you must draw your own conclusion. Paine had a letter last Saturday from Concord stating that the school there was engaged to Robinson, that graduated last commencement. Torry goes next Friday and the rest of us will probably stay on the rest of the term. Monsieur's school has closed, but he has engaged to take another in the Spring. All his scholars are much pleased with him I believe. For my part I have not obtained much good from it, but it was my own fault I suppose.

Your classmate Stone has commenced his school in Keene has about forty noisy, dirty, ragged young idiot[s] to teach. There was a grand party at Mrs. Woodward's a few evenings since — the gentlemen were the Rev. Mr. Stone, Tutors Aiken & Carlton, Junior Alvord, Sophomores Stone and Woodward & George Wood. Ladies I do not know who or what they are.

Almost all our class have cleared out, and the rest are soon going, except Kendrich, Kimball, Cilley & *Myself*. We are studying Butler[9] yet, but shall soon commence Paleys Evidences.

As to that important & dignified personage ———i———; he is very well tho' somewhat lasy — studies a little — reads a little more and scribbles more still, and wishes very much, as he says, to hear from his chum Tom.

Tom Paine domiciliates with me at present. He has lived with me since he was taken sick with a violent cold arising from the influence of *Conic Sections*. We had an excellent thanksgiving dinner. Turkey, plumpudding, pies mince, squash & pumpkin, apples and wine, &c &c &c &c. If you should happen to meet with any body who knows me, present my respects to them. I am excessively tired, having written one long letter before to-day. Write soon — Good-bye.

Yours Affectionately

DART COLL., Dec. 14. 1825.

DEAR TOM,

I recieved your very entertaining letter of the 21st inst with much pleasure. You say I may be thankful for my disappointment respecting

[9] Joseph Butler's well known work, The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Course and Constitution of Nature, published originally in 1736.

the school. I am not by any means sorry that I did not obtain it, tho I do not by any means like the way in which I lost it. I regret that you are not better pleased with your school than your letter intimates. I never thought it would agree with you very well — you are not as patient as Job I can tell you, without fear of contradiction. I remember that in the school where I kept last winter[10] the noise would sometimes almost drive me distracted. In respect to the Govt., their bark is *always* worse than their bite, tho they can bite keenly enough too upon occasion. Witness George's case — bow wow.[11] You will be called upon for the fine of course. You knew so much when you left Hanover. I hope that they will exact nothing further. — Old Tom has recovered from the cold which so severely afflicted him. N. B. The Junior class have finished Conic Sections. Tom, Cilley and *Ego* are all that are left in our family. Cleveland left this morning.[12] I have begun to like C——— quite well — many of the stories by which I was prejudiced against him I have found to be false and the others highly exaggerated. I have learnt a lesson from this which I hope I shall not soon forget, that is not to judge decidedly upon slight grounds.

Creeping Moses has pulled up stakes and cleared to my great satisfaction and relief. I was always willing to endure a reasonable share of his company, but to be favoured with it all the time was a favour of which I felt myself extremely unworthy, and unwilling that my perturbation should be visible I blew out the light, covered up the fire and hid my blushing face under the blankets. I was not under the necessity of resorting to the last summary expedient which you mentioned in order to convince him of my modesty.

Your profile is not such a *very* bad looking object after all. Old Bison says it looks exactly like you when you are about to say something witty. So think of something *darn'd cute* and look in the glass and if you don't see something there that will make you laugh I shall be Content to be set down for a false prophet.

"I wonder if I should have been honoured with an invitation from the Miss woodward's" — I am sure I can't tell & am equally sure

---

[10] At Reading.

[11] This reference is to a difficulty which Chase's friend George Punchard got into with the college authorities the preceding summer. Punchard was suspended for some offense of which Chase believed him to be innocent. Chase protested to President Tyler; and when his protest availed nothing, he quit college for the period of his friend's suspension. In speaking of this episode in a letter to Trowbridge, Chase remarked in after years: "I could not help feeling that I had done right in standing by my friend; but I was sorry that I had been obliged to leave college." Punchard later became a minister in Boston. Warden, S. P. Chase, 115-116.

[12] After graduating from Dartmouth in 1827 Charles Dexter Cleveland, here referred to, became professor of Latin and Greek in Dickinson College and later in New York University. He wrote a number of critical works on modern and classical literature.

that you would not have accepted it if you had. I see no reason why you should wonder that they had no more gentlemen. They had all that they knew from the three lower classes that would go and they have a moral antipathy to our class you know because we come [?] after Mr. Henry and other reasons too insignificant to mention. There has been a READING CIRCLE (Excuse my printing Tom I pray thee) established at Hanover — the Gentlemen Tommy Aiken & Carlton read and the ladies correct any mistakes they may happen to observe. Williamine[13] belongs to it and has made marvellous improvement in consequence thereof: Insomuch that now I scarcely dare say Boo to her (Or as the old saying goes Say Boo to a goose) for fear that I shall be told that it is not *good English!* She has moreover acquired a number of smooth, elegant, pure, harmonious *clear English* sayings, *par exemple* "You lie" "Shoot your Granny" "Awful crittur" and I don't know how many others equipollent and tantamount to that. You see hereby what rapid strides Hanover is taking in the march of improvement. Par example puts me in mind of Monsieur. I remembered you to him, tho' without your orders for I suppose that you would have told me to had you thought of it. He has left Hanover this morning for Woodstock, where he proposes instructing a school this winter. He told me to remember him affectionately to you.

I am glad that your cousin remembers me. I thought I should like him very much upon acquaintance — as it was I feel a great respect for him. Present my respects to him if you please. I hardly think it will be possible for me to be in Portsmouth this winter; if it is possible however I will. Dan brought me your letter and wished to read it. I told him I had no objections. He read it & said that he was very glad you had altered your opinion of him. He did not comprehend the import of the particle Sed [?] I guess. Cilley tells me that he shall see you in the course of a fortnight or three weeks & sends a packet of Love to you. Goodbye.

Your Sincere Friend

P. S. You must answer this so that I may receive your letter within eight or ten days for after that time I scarcely know where I shall be for two or three weeks. I have written this just as I should talk. Excuse all faults.

Reading Vt. Feby. 6. 1826.

Dear Tom:

I regret very much that you have not thought fit to answer my last letter. I expected that you would direct to Hanover and that it would be forwarded to me in case I should not be there. But I suppose that you have good reasons for it as I am not willing to suspect the *"sin-*

[13] Daughter of General Poole, already referred to by Chase.

cerity" of your friendship. Since my last to you many *important* events have taken place, such as old Bison's falling in love for the 99th time. The present object of his admiration is a Miss Trumbull from Hartford, Conn. But as he is a sworn squire of dames I suppose that his present will last no longer than his former flames. Many other *equally* important events have transpired too *tedious* to mention. Harriet Woodward has been paying attentions to a medical student but has been rejected! At least so says General Report who you know is not a man of unquestioned veracity. I was up at H———[14] a few days since. Saw Mrs. Poole and Williamine—all well. W——— had been to a ball at Windsor and at one in Woodstock so she had plenty to talk of during the short time I was there. Her tongue went as smooth as butter and as swift as Eclipse. I did not see any of your particular acquaintances while there. Since the vacation commenced I have been at Keene where I staid between three or four weeks. Charles Olcott is there—rather more steady than he has been tho' it can scarce be hoped that he will ever entirely free himself from his unhappy habit of intemperance. I am very sorry for him for setting aside that blot upon his character. There are few who are more highly gifted with every quality that excites esteem and insures respect. I came to this place about two weeks since. I have a sister here who is married to the physician of the place.[15] My Mother intends residing here for the future; as she has no children who are not either at school at a distance or married or otherwise engaged. It is a gloomy and unsocial place and were it not that my sister is here I should hardly think my Mother could endure the change; but she is satisfied and of course I am. I shall be as much at liberty as formerly and the change cannot materially affect me, as I am scarcely ever at home for a month together. How prospers your school! I hope you meet with no difficulty in the management of the *blacks* which are entrusted to you to shape out after a workmanlike manner. Avery as I understand has bidden farewell to his school in Sharon. Your *friend* Elliott is now engaged in his third. Russell does very well however. Hutchins I understand teaches the young idea how to *shoot* with great accuracy. I saw Torry in Windsor a few days since. He succeeded well I beleive in his school and is now enjoying himself at home. I think you made a great mistake when you took so *long* a school. You must be fairly tired out long before this. I can well sympathise with you for it was only 12 months since I was engaged in the same *horrid* delightful employment. I counted the hours, minutes and even seconds with the utmost impatience and greatly did I rejoice when the hour came when I could say to myself *"I am free."* You however are differently situated from what I was. You have pleasant society to console you for the vexations you experience in your school; but to me my

[14] Hanover.
[15] Jane Chase, the wife of Dr. Skinner.

pleasantest hours were often those which I spent in schoolroom; the people among whom I was cast were almost savages, — one or two families alone could pretend to common decency. I was not starved however — the best bohea the greasiest nutcake and largest piece of pie which would rival in the compactness of formation and darkness of hue the darkest ebony was always reserved for the *"master"*. However I made shift to live it thro' and tho't at the close of the period for which I was engaged that I would sooner undertake to teach the wild Indians, than again attempt to instruct *savages* of our enlightened land.

I have trespassed thus long upon your patience with an account of my school merely because I had nothing else to say which I thought might be interesting to you. Do you ever hear from Punchard? I have not heard a syllable from him scarcely since the vacation commenced. Shall you return to H——— at the commencement of the term? If you do not I wish you would send me an immediate answer to this. Be sure to come as quick as you finish your school for our room is all too large to be filled by one person.

Very affectionately
YOUR FRIEND

DEAR TOM,

I wrote this letter in Reading Vermont state and intended to have sent it to you before this time but as this is an *out-of-the-way* place where the mail seldom comes, I have not sent it till this present time.[10] George Punchard is here — you cannot think how glad we all were to see him. He has grown fat and is hearty as a buck. Torrey & Creeping Moses & Cleveland are all here. I am sorry to find that Cleveland is charged with such heavy accusations as he is said to be for I had begun to like him quite well. C——— Moses rooms in Brown Hall. [Three words illegible.] Do Come as soon as you Can. Don't stay to finish your school if it will keep you long. At all events *write immediately*. Remember me to your cousin. Goodbye and believe me ever

Ceteris equalibus
Your's Affectionately

HANOVER, March 12th 1826.

MY DEAR TOM,

I have taken the liberty of writing to you at this time in order to request you to purchase me a handsome English watch in Concord the price of which I do not wish to exceed 16 dolls. I want to have as small a one as possible, at least as small as yours and warranted for one year. You *may* get it as much cheaper than 16 dollars as you can!

A revival is commenced here and probably will make sweeping work. The President goes round and exhorts every one who has expressed any concern.

[10] Postmarked at Hanover, February 20.

Prof. Shurtliff as you have probably seen by the papers has lost his wife.[17] George Punchard has just left my room. He is very well and so is old Tom and Gates. Hutchins lately recd. a letter from you. I thought it somewhat queer that you did not write to me at the same time. — What's to pay. Excuse blots and handwriting on account of my pen.

Your's affectionately

P. S. I do not write at any great length as you will come on so soon. Pay for the watch and I will hand you the money upon your arrival. If there are no English ones of the kind I wish you to get for me a small French one to open on the back and front, worked on the outside, warranted one year, price not exceed 12 dollars. I care very little which of this you get me and should if any thing prefer the last.

HANOVER March 16 1826

MY DEAR TOM.

I recd. with much pleasure your very kind letter of the 27th ult. not however 'till the 11th of this month. Before recieving it I had written a short letter to you directed to Concord, which you probably will not receive 'till on your way here if then. It is of no manner of Consequence whether you do or no as there is no information in that which will not be contained in this.

I have sold my old watch and wish to procure a new one. If you should be able to obtain me an English one in Portsmouth of the same sise, or *smaller* than yours, warranted for time one year or a French one, worked on the outside, to open both on the front and back, small in sise, & warranted for time one year, I should be glad if you would procure it for me and I will pay you immediately upon your return. I should not wish the English watch to cost over 16 dolls. and the French one not over 12 dolls. and you *may* get either as much *cheaper as possible!* I have a small bill at Brown,[18] which if you would pay I would settle with you. The amount of the bill is $5.68. You remember you took off my Burns to have it bound. If it is already bound and has cost more than 2.00 for the binding I should wish you to procure another set if possible at about 3.50 well bound; if not I should wish you to have them bound as well as you can for .50 cents a volume. Pardon me for troubling you so much about my matters. — We will now if you please say something about yours. Are you indispensably engaged in your school for 3 weeks longer? If not and you have any wish to be restored to Coll. upon easy terms I would advise you to return imme-

[17] Roswell Shurtleff was the professor of theology at this time. For a sketch of his life, see B. P. Smith, The History of Dartmouth College (Boston, 1878), 228-240.

[18] A tailor.

diately in the very *next mail* and be present at the examination of your class. If you do this I think you will be readmitted upon easy terms, if not you will be obliged to undergo a private examination, which is a thing somewhat to be dreaded if as you say, you have not attended much to your classical studies. Besides I have a more selfish motive; I want you as a Room-Mate, to help me fetch wood, draw water, &c., &c. Do Come, and that not quickly merely but immediately. Your examination will be upon Thursday next week and it will be your interest to be present at it. Come therefore without hesitation directly.

A revival has commenced here. I was not taught to believe much in the efficacy of such things but I do not not [sic] know enough concerning their effects to oppose them.[19] I so wish to comply with the advice of Gameliel to the Jewish Sanhedrim, "Refrain from these men &c."[20] Charles Thompson has experienced as he says a change of heart — that is — he has become religious. Ned Avery is said to be under serious impressions and so is Gates Cilley, and some others of your acquaintance. Every one appears sober. Compared to last fall the College seems very sober this Spring I assure you. In the chapel this evening you might have heard a pin drop so attentive and silent were the students. The revival commenced among the young ladies, all of whom without exception have become seriously disposed. The president is indefatigable in his labours to promote it's spread and he is seconded tho' with less ardour by the other officers of college.

George is well and studies quite hard this term. In fact I never knew a time when he appeared to so good advantage in the class as he does at present. Old Tom is hearty as usual; — he and I have had a slight falling-out tho' I hope no lasting ill-will will arise from it; for if there be one whose talents I admire, or whose honour I respect, or whose good opinion I should wish to secure in the Junior Class, that one is George Paine. I would not crouch however to purchase even his good opinion.

Your Society are about I believe to make some alterations in the library; — what they are I have not been able exactly to learn. Dane Smith of the freshman class has been considerably with me this term, and I think him a very fine fellow, tho' take the class as a body and I doubt whether it would be possible, to find a poorer set of intellects in any college in America.

---

[19] Chase had been baptized and confirmed a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A deeply religious note dominated his entire life, being the result in part, no doubt, of the teachings of his devoted mother and of the reading which he did under Bishop Chase's supervision in Worthington. His college mate Nathaniel Folsom believed that the revival left an ineradicable impress on Chase's later career. See *ibid.*, 134-139.

[20] Acts, v, 38.

Come immediately or answer this in less than no time.

Good-bye. *Your's Affectionately.*

N. B. "I do not doubt the sincerity of your friendship."

ROYALTON April 9 1826.

Tuesday.

MY DEAR TOM,

When I left H——— in my hurry I forgot to bring with me my pencil case, my penknife, and the little account book all which you will find in the drawer of my table and which I should be glad to have you send by the afternoon stage of tomorrow, as likewise a packet of tracts which I expect Caleb Kimball will give you. Will you do me the favour to hand the inclosed immediately to him? [Written in later.] I do not inclose any thing as you will percieve for him.

I arrived here after a pleasant tho slow ride safe and sound, wind & limb and had the satisfaction of finding all my friends well. I inclose to you the amount of my debt 5 dollars.

Do not my dear Tom forget the promise which you made me at parting and remember the day is fast approaching when you will be called to account for the faithful fulfilment of it. Do not think me officiously impertinent in thus reminding you of an acknowledged duty but attribute it to the real cause anxiety for your welfare. May he who alone is able give you strength to fulfil your resolution.

Good-bye do not neglect writing soon to

Your Sincerely Aff. Friend

P. S. Love to George, Tom, Gates & Hutch. Send likewise my razor and strop — April 12. I inclose your money $5 — Stage-fee in deduction 4.00.

ROYALTON May 15th 1826.

MY DEAR TOM,

I recieved your epistle a few moments since & answer it immediately. I was glad and sorry upon your letter. Glad that the work which I verily believe to be that of the Spirit of God continues to proceed in Hanover. Sorry that your manner of mentioning it seemed to imply doubt if not incredulity. No doubt you may serve the Lord in your studies as acceptably as in other ways if you study from right motives, but if you do not you must be conscious of something wrong. "Without Holiness no man shall see the Lord," and the question is therefore a very important one. Are we in any degree holy? Has the Holy Spirit renewed our corrupt hearts? I pray (and I hope I pray sincerely) that you may be enabled to give an affirmative answer to these questions. "Seek you *first* the Kingdom of Heaven and all other things shall be

added unto you." These are the words of God Himself who *cannot* be deceived and who *will* not be mocked. I leave you to make their application.

I thank you sincerely for the trouble you have taken in sending my things. Whence came the tracts and why did you not send my penknife? Glad that the money went safe. Answer this if you please this week. Love to all.

Your aff Friend.

II.

After graduation at Dartmouth, where, it is worthy of note, Chase was honored by election to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, he planned to go south and teach for a time preparatory to the selection of a profession. He strongly inclined at this time to enter the ministry. At Philadelphia, on his journey southward, he came upon his uncle Bishop Chase, whose mission to England had proved successful and who was devoting his energies now to the building up of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, later called Kenyon College. Young Chase sought openings for his school at Swedesboro, N. J., and at Frederick City, Md., but the conditions were not favorable for his venture.

He now journeyed on to Washington, where he had letters to the Reverend Dr. Hawley and the Reverend Mr. Allen and where his uncle Dudley Chase, United States Senator from Vermont, spent a portion of each year on his official duties. These gentlemen were not able to assist him materially at the outset except through the prestige afforded by the use of their names. With considerable diffidence Chase announced his project to the public in the following advertisement in *The National Intelligencer,* December 23, 1826:

SELECT CLASSICAL SCHOOL

The subscriber intends opening a Select Classical School, in the Western part of the City, to commence on the second Monday in January. His number of pupils will be limited to twenty, which will enable him to devote a much larger portion of his time and attention than ordinary to each individual student. Instruction will be given in all the studies preparatory to entering College, or, if desired, in any of

the higher branches of a classical education. The subscriber pledges himself that no effort shall be wanting on his part to promote both the moral and intellectual improvement of those who may be confided to his care. He may be found at his room three doors west of Brown's Hotel.

Reference may be made to the Hon. Henry Clay; Hon. D. Chase, and Hon. H. Seymour, of the Senate; Hon. J. Bartlet, and Hon. William C. Bradley of the House of Representatives; Rev. Wm. Hawley, and Rev. E. Allen.

SALMON P. CHASE.

For a few weeks this notice evoked no response. His slender means became well-nigh exhausted. He bethought himself of a government clerkship, which his uncle as an administration Senator might easily secure for him. The Senator's reply to his nephew's appeal is familiar to students of Chase's career. "Salmon," he said, "I once obtained an office for a nephew of mine, and he was ruined by it. I then determined never to ask one for another. I will give you fifty cents to buy a spade with, but I will not help to get you a clerkship."[21] Fortune now came to him in the guise of a Mr. Plumley, a schoolmaster, who offered to turn over to Chase his boy scholars in view of the fact that the girls under his instruction were absorbing practically all of his time. Chase was thus able to write to Sparhawk in his first letter from Washington that he had twenty pupils in his school early in January, 1827.

From this time forward Chase's letters to his college friend reveal the high lights, if not the details, of his three years' residence in the national capital. Financially his school afforded him a livelihood. Like most young teachers he admitted in after years: "I was obliged to read a good deal to keep ahead of my scholars, for my college opportunities had not been well improved as they should have been. I had relied too much on my faculty of easy acquirement, and had given far less time to study than was necessary to thoroughness."[22] His sense of

[21] Letter to Trowbridge; Warden, S. P. Chase, 121. As Secretary of the Treasury, Chase reflected on this incident in this wise: "Had I become a clerk, it is almost certain I would have remained a clerk, or should have been, at least, disqualified by clerk habits for the work I have actually done." *Ibid.*

[22] Letter to Trowbridge; *ibid.*, 127.

neglected opportunities while at college dwelt heavily on his mind during these early years and caused him to deliver several solemn and sententious preachments on the subject to Sparhawk.

Of his studies under William Wirt, Chase rightly says little. Whatever progress he made toward a mastery of the law came as a result of self-direction. In a personal memorandum made many years later Chase admitted: "My reading for the bar had not been diligent or very extensive. I had looked through Burlamaqui at college. After I went to Washington, in 1826, and had opened my school in the spring of 1827, I received as pupils the sons of William Wirt, and was received by him as a student-at-law. It may well be believed that between the cares of a school and other duties, and the attractions of society and especially of the delightful family circle of Mr. Wirt—where I was ever welcomed with cordial kindness—I made no great progress in legal lore. Mr. Wirt never examined me. Only once did he put a question to me about my studies. He asked me one day while I was reading Blackstone if I understood him. I answered confidently, 'Yes.' But I was greatly mistaken, as I afterward found. The knowledge obtained by bare reading is of very little value. Books must be meditated and talked to be understood and converted into mental aliment. I forget what books I read besides 'Blackstone's Commentaries'; 'Cruise's Digest,' I think, and perhaps some others—'Dalrymple on Feudal Law,' I remember as one, but the catalogue was very short."[23]

It appears to be entirely within the truth to say that Chase was much more studious in his attentions to the feminine portion of the Wirt family than to the mastery of the law. The passages which tell of his relations with the Wirt daughters and other charmers of the same sex reveal a nature sophomorically naïve and impressionable—a quality which Chase never entirely lost if his record of wedding three wives in twelve years may be held to signify anything.

So far as political affairs were concerned Chase resided in Washington at an unusually interesting period. But he was

[23] Quoted by J. W. Schuckers in The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (New York, 1874), 29-30.

essentially an onlooker while the new democratic ferment was violently at work,—a mildly curious observer and faithful mirror of Whig opinion. Contrary to a widely accepted belief he makes it clear that presidential receptions had ceased being decorous and stately functions even before the advent of Jacksonism (witness the episode of Mr. Clayton's hat!); and he affords amusing evidence that the "millennium of minnows," which all good Whigs deplored, was making inroads even upon the sacred precincts of the Adams relationship, in his report of the engagement of one of that circle to a serving maid!

His experiences in Washington did convince him, however, that he would thenceforth regard his legal career principally as a vestibule through which he might enter politics, in order to play an enlightened part in the broader field. It is evident that he had as yet no idea of the particular rôle which he was to be called upon to essay, for his correspondence shows no trace of the all-absorbing passion of his later years—hatred of slavery —although he was thrown in constant contact with slaves in the Wirt home and elsewhere.

As for other matters the letters to Sparhawk, which follow, speak for themselves.

WASHINGTON CITY Jany. 13, 1827,

MY DEAR TOM,

Do I prove myself a false prophet when I foretell that this letter will be gladly welcomed for the writer's sake? Indeed I hope not, tho' you might justly blame me for my long neglect of writing. I will give you my excuses, weak and flimsy as you will probably pronounce them to be, for a man must be very far gone indeed whose ingenuity cannot devise some excuse to screen him from censure. Well then, in the first place I had written to Paine and knowing that you would see that letter I deemed it useless to trouble you by a repetition of such dry stuff; and in the second place you neglected writing to me all the while I was at Hopkinton[24] and my neglect was but "quid pro quo" you know. But stop: — what am I doing? Filling the letter with excuses.—A bad business this. You see by the date of my letter that I am now in the metropolis of the nation, where all grades of character, — all distinctions of rank, — from the noble, magnanimous, upright and talented Webster down to the mean, servile intriguing & — yes I must call him talented too —

[24] Where he had visited with his sister Mrs. Colby for a short time following the Dartmouth commencement.

C——; from the President of the United States down to the Ostler that attends upon the President's horses — meet and mingle. The President holds a Levee every alternate Wednesday night. I have never attended them but once, when I went at the invitation of Mr. Ichabod Bartlett,[25] who introduced me to Mrs. Adams and the President's two sons. Mrs. Adams is a very fine-looking woman and is said to possess a very liberal disposition. The sons are nothing remarkable either in person or in mind.[26] These levees are always crowded to excess; so much so that standing room can scarcely be found. Last New Year's day the room was so crowded that a servant who was carrying around refreshments was pushed down by the violence of those who were striving to help themselves from his waiter. On the same day Mr. Clayton of Delaware lost his hat. He had put his hat away with his coat and when he came for them he found an old hat in the place of his new one, with the papers in it which he had left in his own. Something of this kind almost always occurs and those who attend would do well to wear the poorest articles they have, that their value may not tempt the honesty of others. As to myself, I have opened a school here. It commenced on Monday last, and I have twenty scholars at different prices from $5.00 to $12.50 per quarter. I like my school as well as I ever shall like any school. It will be somewhat profitable in the end I hope, tho my expenses are very great. I cannot write any more now. Indeed I know of nothing that would be pleasing to you to learn. I am in great haste. I have not an hour scarcely from morning till night I can Call my own. Do remember me with much respect to your excellent Father and present my compliments to your sister. When I write again I will write more at large. In the meantime I shall expect to hear from you and hope it will be soon.

Believe me now as ever

Your Sincere Friend.

WASHINGTON CITY July 8. 1827 —
Saturday After —

MY DEAR TOM,

I need make no apology for the length of time which I have suffered to elapse between the time that I received your welcome and interesting letter and the date of this, because you set me the example and of course could not have expected anything better from me. Were it necessary however I could produce a still stronger reason in justification of myself; — that I have written so frequently to friends at Hanover, that my letter to you had I sent it sooner could have contained

[25] Ichabod Bartlett was a graduate of Dartmouth and a member of the House of Representatives from New Hampshire, 1823-1829.

[26] George W. and John. George W. Adams died in 1829. The third son Charles Francis became the most distinguished member of the family.

little or nothing to interest or profit. Indeed I am far from being sure that I shall now succeed for I know of nothing new — nothing amusing nothing instructive. The weather has been so excessively warm this month that I have been really afraid that I should be compelled to "Pack out" as the military Dutchman said and return to the land of my forefathers. The 3 first days of this month and a part of the fourth were so hot that I was compelled to confine myself almost entirely to the house. On the Afternoon of the fourth we had a most delightful rain which laid the dust and reduced the glowing heat of the Atmosphere. Since then the weather has been quite moderate and this afternoon it is again raining. I hope to be able to see New England this summer but it is quite uncertain. I desire much to see the face of my friends and the green hills and verdant vallies of my native stated [sic] which tho' not endued with voice or feeling, still excite in my bosom all the emotions of eloquence and all the interest of affection. You, my dear friend, have never yet known what it is to go forth into the world with few to cry, "God speed you" and none to lend an assisting hand to strengthen you in your arduous race. When you do go forth, thus to seek for yourself an honourable independence, may you have what is infinitely better than the applause of the multitude or even the sympathy of friends, a firm reliance on the covenanted mercy of him who doeth all things well, an unshaken tho humble faith in that Redeemer who came into the world to save sinners. Thus armed you need not fear the assaults of the enemy nor [feel] discouraged at the reverses of fortune.

"Breaks not the Morning's glorious light
Forth from the darkest hour of night."

Thus you will often find it, for He who has promised never to leave nor forsake them who put their trust in him, dealeth with us not as man dealeth. My dear friend, I know you do not want correct principle but you will not blame a sincere friend for telling you that you want energy decision and perseverence in action. Your long neglect of an important college duty, that of composition is a proof of this and if I remember right I have heard you complain of these besetting sins. It is then high time surely that you be up and doing. I know of no sure defence against these weaknesses, or to call them by a more proper name, these sins, than a habit of reflecting upon the dread account which we are to render for the manner in which we spend each fleeting moment, and a habit of seeking assistance from God by fervent earnest prayer. I am afraid that I am making you weary of my correspondence and of myself. God forbid that the chain of our correspondence should be broken thus. If I could by any means make you sensible of the meaning of that one short word, "Forever" if I could make you practically believe that "God will bring every work

into judgement," you would not wonder at my earnestness or my importunity. I fear you will be ready to say that while I was with you my daily practise was not such as should have resulted from sentiments like those I have expressed. With sorrow I confess that such is the fact; but remember that you do not attribute to religion that which religion has failed to cure. Remember too that the religion of the Bible is the religion which I recommend. To that blessed volume I would have you refer to see "whether these things are so," and I would wish you to make that book your counsellor and your guide never forgetting to implore the teachings of the Holy Spirit of Truth.

I suppose you are now looking forward with some impatience to the time when you will assume the *toga virilis* and assume the dignity of Senior. You will, if your experience in life resembles mine thus far, find few seasons of more unmingled felicity than the time you spend at College. I am sorry I did not cultivate more assiduously the advantages of my situation — especially that I did not enrich my mind with more extensive and valuable reading. Especially do I regret that I spent so much of my time in reading novels and other light works. They may impart a little brilliancy to the imagination but at length like an intoxicating draught they enfeeble and deaden the powers of thought and action. My life seems to me to have been wasted, tho there are few young persons of my age who have been placed in more favorable situations for acquiring knowledge both of men and books than I have been. But my improvement has not been commensurate with my opportunities. I say this to you that when your college career is finished you may not have the unhappiness to look back upon so many mispent hours as I do. Enough of this —

I recieved a letter from our friend George Punchard lately. He told me he had visited Hanover and that Paine is engaged to Martha Porter, that Ned Olcott is pay [ing] great attention to Miss E. Webster.[27] She shone as a star of the first magnitude here for one winter, but like a star her light was borrowed from the sun of her Uncle's political reputation. She is spoken of here as a very estimable young lady. You seem to compassionate my situation as an Instructor. It is not so bad as you think. I have a very small school and very ample remuneration — And my time passes quite pleasantly — You ask my opinion of Gov Van Ness's publications.[28] I am not old enough or wise enough to be able to discuss very clearly the good and the evil in political life. But still I think that He was to say the least misled when he first appealed to the people of Vermont and the peice which he published against Mr Slade has not added to the lustre of his reputation. Has Cleveland found the lost money? or did he pay Gen. Poole? Is Holmes still

[27] Emeline C. Webster, a niece of Daniel Webster.

[28] Cornelius Peter Van Ness was governor of Vermont 1823-1829. William Slade was secretary of state of Vermont 1815-1823 and a clerk in the state department in Washington 1823-1829.

in Hanover? If he is please to remind him that he owes me a letter. You wind up your letter with doleful complaints and selfupbraidings which encourage me to hope that you will take in good part what I have said in the first part of my letter. Love to Mrs Poole & Williamine, To Smith and Holmes, to Folsom and Cleveland, to Hutchins &c. I remain

Your Affec Friend

Set me the example and I will be more punctual another time This is your duty as you are my Senior in years —

WASHINGTON CITY September 18. 1827

MY DEAR TOM,

I do not know whether you will care to receive two letters for one, but notwithstanding I have confidence enough in your friendship to venture thus to trouble you. I fear besides if I do not give you a hint or two extra you will forget me altogether. I did not come to Concord[29] for a very simple reason, viz. it was very inconvenient so to do: besides I could not with a very good face have passed by my mother & sisters in Hopkinton and come down to spend the Sunday in Concord. Accordingly when I left Reading I went directly to Keene where I staid over Sunday. On the following day I went to Boston — saw none of my friends. From Boston I came thro Taunton and Middleboro to Providence. I diverged thus from the direct route for the sake of meeting Emeline Webster at Middleboro and having her company to Washn. I said something to you respecting her before I left. This I might now repeat, but it is useless. It is not necessary to say much to an honourable and feeling mind to refute the assertions of a base calumniator of female character. I said that she was innocent. I say so still and I say moreover that the whole affair as represented by William I. Hadduck bears such evident marks of falsehood upon it's very face that those who are deceived by his artifice, must be blinded to the truth by prepossession or by interest. I do not say that her conduct has been strictly proper. But I beleive her errors to have been rather of the head than of the heart—& I do think that her subsequent conduct has amply atoned so far as the world is concerned, for any slight deviations from the paths of strict propriety — I well know what I say and I do not speak unadvisedly or rashly. Now, dear Tom I have a favour to ask of you. That you will find out something —everything respecting Hadduck's trial before the Church — that you will procure copies of the letters falsely alleged to have been written to H—— by Miss Webster. (One of them was truly written — the other two are *forgeries* having never been addressed to him) Discover if you can who take an active part in her favour and the contrary and let me

[29] Chase had gone to New England for a vacation late in the summer.

know the rumours which may now be or have been current in Hanover respecting the affair. Send me the whole — I am sorry that I am obliged in order to arrive at the object of my wishes, which is to have a complete knowledge of the *whole* affair. You know me well enough to be assured I would not hesitate to do for you what I am therefore encouraged to ask of you. You can learn most respecting the "trial" from Prof. Howe; to whom I wish you to remember me very respectfully — I saw him at New York and came in his company as far as Phila. — roomed with him one night at Trenton. I arrived in Washington on Saturday one week after I left Hanover. I found every thing pretty nearly in the same state in which I left. My number of pupils has somewhat increased and I intend in the course of the present week to make some arrangements for pursuing steadily and with vigor the study of my profession. All my time after 3 in the afternoon will be my own besides two or three hours in the morning and all of Saturdays. I shall then certainly be able to devote six hours per diem to professional study and may make some progress. I retire to bed at 11 o'clock and rise by daybreak. What say you Tom to imitating my example? I assure you would be pleased with the effects of it. I consider it as sinful to *waste* any portion of our [time] in sleep, nearly as much so as wasting it when awake. When I consider the shortness of time and the magnitude of the work which each of us must perform, I am frequently much astonished at my own listlessness and carelessness. Week after week brings us nearer the grave — to that night "wherein no man can work." Here is a solemn truth presented to our consideration and I pray God that it may have a suitable influence upon our lives and conduct. I saw Cleveland in Keene on my way down. He promised to call upon me in Boston, but when I arrived I found the Hotel where I had intended to stay already full and had no opportunity of informing him of my place of abode. Has Paine gone to New York? What is Hutchins doing? Where is Torrey &c &c? If you see Mary Emerson, present my respects to her and say that her friends here are well. What do you intend to do this year? If I did not recollect that I am a year younger than you are I would advise you to make the best improvement of your Senior [year]. Make yourself a perfect master of your class recitations and devote the remainder of your time to historical reading. I regret bitterly my own want of application and must as far as lies in my power make amends for it now. Especially do I feel the want of a more thorough knowledge of the history of my own country. To remedy this I have begun with Mather's Magnalia[30] and am determined to read every valuable [(torn) book] I can lay my hands upon. We have no perfect history of the United States. Judge

[30] Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana; or The Ecclesiastical History of New-England, originally published in London in 1702.

Marshall's life of Washington,[31] the incidents of whose life are so intimately blended with the welfare of his country that it would be impossible to separate them. Grimshaw's history of the U. S. is an interesting little work.[32] His style is clear and lucid and the information which he imparts is very valuable. When you write to your family remember me to them particularly to your excellent father. Give my love to Mrs Poole & Williamine— Love to Smith & Holmes — Folsom and Thompson — Why has not Smith written? Be sure to answer this as soon as you can for [I] wish particularly to hear respecting the matters mentioned. Do not show this letter to any one and communicate only such parts as you may think proper. The Lord bless you and keep you my dear friend

Yours truly

Having read this letter over this morning I find it full of mistakes. Supply all ellipses and excuse it for it was written late last night when I was intolerably sleepy. I have received a letter from Kendrick and another from Herrick since my return. Herrick said that Waterman was then with him and would stay a day or two. Blodgett is in S. Carolina with his brother. H— intends to return to New England this winter and I hope to see him here.

WASHINGTON CITY Jany 2. 1828 —

MY DEAR TOM,

This is the third time that I have commenced a letter to you and I intend now to persevere unto the end. I wish you many, many happy New Years. May the cup of your felicity ever overflow, and may you ever be mindful of the Source whence all our joys are derived. I received your kind letter of the last month when I was about to commence a letter to you, fearing lest your long silence might be caused by your expectation of an answer to the few lines you sent me by Bartlett. I thank you most sincerely for the goodness you have shewn in taking so much trouble to collect the information I desired relative to Miss W—. From the anxiety I manifested respecting it you may have inferred that I had fallen a victim to her charms. No my dear fellow, no. When I went to New England last summer and heard the base slanders which H— had put in circulation respecting her, when I saw

[31] John Marshall's Life of George Washington, originally published in 1804-1807 in five volumes and an atlas.

[32] William Grimshaw's History of the United States from their First Settlement as Colonies was a well known school history of Chase's day, now entirely forgotten. The Philadelphia edition of 1834 said: "The demand for Grimshaw's Histories, for the last fourteen years, has been greater than was ever known for any other historical works, in any age, or in any language."

her friends either silent or lukewarm, I felt for her as I believe I should have felt for any female similarly situated. I vindicated her character, defended her fame and as well as I could repelled the base insinuations of her enemies. Afterward when we journeyed together I endeavored to convince her that she was not without friends. So far as I could divine them every wish was anticipated, so far as my ability extended every desire was gratified. Kindness always brings with it it's own reward. I found her a *very* agreeable companion and the journey was the most pleasant I ever took. All these circumstances made me feel a more than ordinary degree of interest in her. I felt for her as for a sister. — This will be sufficient to explain the motives which led me to make that request of you. For the readiness and kindness with which you have complied with it I again thank you. — I see Miss W— now more seldom than formerly. Here she has many of what the world calls friends and my time is too fully occupied with important engagements to allow me to visit much. Report says that she is engaged to a young physician of the name of Lindsley. I know him slightly and think she would have no occasion to regret the change of Olcott for him.

Yesterday I attended the levee at the President's and after shaking hands with him made my way out of the crowd and as soon as I could conveniently left the house. There was an immense crowd there, greater I am told, than has ever been known on a similar occasion. Foreign Embassadors, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Officers Civil and Military, gentlemen, and blackguards, all were there or at least some persons of all these kinds. Mr Adams is peculiarly unfortunate in his demeanour — Cold and reserved, he says "I am very happy to see you Sir" precisely as the Automaton Chess-Player would make a move. He is stiff as a crow-bar. No polish is perceptible about him and he goes thro his part on these occasions like a man who was sensible it must be done and who is heartily rejoiced when he finds that it is done.

On Monday I heard an oration by Mr. Southard Sec of the Navy[33] before the Columbian Institute. He is far from being an eloquent or graceful speaker, but his discourse was replete with sound wisdom and valuable thought.

This evening I have been at Mr. Wirt's.[34] He is absent in Baltimore, but Mrs W— and family remain. She is a very interesting and agreeable woman, tho somewhat inclined like most of her sex to remember the faults of the absent. I like the family much. Elizabeth Wirt is a modest girl, with a richly cultivated mind and a most amiable dis-

[33] Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey was Secretary of the Navy 1823-1829.

[34] William Wirt of Maryland was one of the best known jurists of his time and was Attorney General of the United States during three administrations, 1817-1829.

position. Her sisters four in number do not equal her as to sweetness of temper but all are uncommonly intelligent.

The Jackson men as you have long since learned thro the medium of the papers, are predominant in the senate and in the house. Gentlemen of the other party say however that the Jackson stock is falling in the market. The late movements in North Carolina and Pennsylvania unexpected I imagine on all hands, and have struck a damp upon the hopes of the heterogeneous supporters of the "Military Chieftain" while encouragement is given to the friends of our institutions to persevere in the confidence that in the end success will crown their efforts. A novel proposition was discussed in the House of Reps Monday, and carried by a large majority. The proposition was to confer on the Committee of Manufactures a power to send for and examine under oath, persons in relation to the state of Manufactures in their States —

I believe the resolution to be beneficial in its tendencies as we shall thereby come at a true state of the case. The practise has long since been adopted in England and has answered well its intended purposes —

I received a letter from Herrick a few weeks since. He has returned to N. E. and has entered the Institution at Ando[v]er. I had a letter from Blodgett yesterday. He was in good health and spirits —

I cannot write farther at present so Goodbye

Yours truly

P. S. On reading over what I have written this morning I feel truly ashamed of it, but what shall I do? This is my third attempt as I said before and I cannot, that is there is a moral impossibility that I should go over it again. I must therefore trust to your goodness to receive it as it is. I am now in the midst of my school and a class is before me reciting a Latin lesson. I suppose too that you are in the midst of yours also. On my right and left are the sons of the Attorney General of the U. S. Mr. Wirt. Next to them on one side is the son of Henry Clay, on the other a nephew of Mrs Adams. Next week I shall have in my school the children of All the Members of the Cabinet, except those of Mr. Rush, Sec. of the Treasury.[35] So you see I have as *respectable* a school as I could wish and I find them far more docile and obedient than an equal of brats in a district-school in N. E. would be. I wish I could peep in upon you and behold you arrayed in your pedagogical dignity and seated in the curule chair — Alas I shall not soon have that pleasure; But I can almost fancy I behold you sitting among your scholars, with a great fire blazing on the hearth. Your school-room is not the cleanest place in the world, and possibly your scholars are not much too tidy in their persons or dress. I can imagine

[35] Richard Rush of Pennsylvania was Secretary of the Treasury 1825-1829.

that you hear from various quarters of the room, "M' I g' out" "M' I come to the fire" "I can't do this ere sum," "That 'are fellow's making faces at me" &c &c.

I think no employment so completely thankless which deserves so many thanks as that of teaching. We have the satisfaction however if we discharge our duties faithfully that we are doing good to our fellow men. This consciousness ought to cheer our hearts and animate us to exertion. Let us imagine that upon our labours depends in a degree the happiness, the honour of our beloved country and we shall feel the obligations incumbent upon us — I shall expect a long letter from you either before or immediately after your return to Hanover — Do excuse all defects in this letter and I will endeavour to do better when I write again —

Affectionately

WASHINGTON May 15. 1828.

MON CHER AMI,

J'ai reçu avec plaisir votre epitre dernier, et j'y aurais repondu plutôt si je n'eusse été empèchè par une multiplicitè d'affaires. You see my dear friend that I have recommended *la ètude de la langue Francoise*. and perhaps you will think I am as fond of displaying my acquirements as you were when you could not say "pronunciation" without pronouncing it *pronongseeahseeongh*. Now laugh at me if you dare.

As I have been rather irregular in my Hanover correspondence this year I scarcely know what to write lest I write about something I have already mentioned. Perhaps it will be my safest way to restrict myself to the occurrences of the last six weeks. Well what has transpired at the Federal City during that time. Truly nothing very wonderful. *I* have been at Baltimore where I saw, Cleveland Miss E. G. Wirt, Charles Carroll of Carrollton,[36] and —a black fellow. The said Miss W— and your quondam chum and faithful friend waited upon Mr. Carroll, to obtain the fulfilment of a promise which he had previously made that he would write in her Album. (By the way she has a most beautiful album and beautifully filled). Mr. Carroll not only wrote in her album but gave her a kiss to boot, which was more [than] he promised. He is a wonderfully active old gentleman, runs up and down stairs like a boy, only that all his motions are as soft and gentle as those of a cat. He rides every day when weather permits, some six or eight miles, and tho' now on the farther side of ninety enjoys conversation and society with as much apparent pleasure as most younger men. Cleveland is very comfortably situated in Baltimore; has a fine school and I should imagine has reason to be contented with his situa-

[36] The last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. He died in 1832.

tion. Returning from Balt. a young man who seemed to be a mechanic proposed taking the question Adams or Jackson & I was the only one shewed the Adams flag, "among innumerable false unmoved." When I returned I intended to have commenced study in earnest but something has always hitherto prevented but I intend to carry my resolution into effect *tomorrow*.

So you plead not guilty to the charge of being in love? Well, it is much as I expected. As for the way I came by the report 'twas an honest way enough; Emeline Webster told me of it. How did she hear of it? You must ask her ladyship. Apropos Emeline W. is *about to be* married! It is a fact—to a young physician of the name ot Lindsley, a Jersey man. The *consummation* is to take place in the fall. I would give the end of my little finger—nail to know a thing or two in relation to this match. I must confess that my faith in E. C. W's truth and honour is somewhat shaken by some statements I heard from Cleveland when at Balt. If you have seen my letter to Smith, as I suppose you have, your "pleasing anticipation" with regard to a certain young lady must have given place to complete despair. Yes, I must ("reluctantly I acknowledge") leave that conquest to be achieved by some more favoured mortal.

You speak of your father's intention to take a trip to Philadelphia & New York during your Senior vacation. If I cannot so arrange matters so as to be able to visit New England during the coming summer. I shall be very happy to meet you in Philadelphia and will endeavor to do so. When you are so near I hope you will not find it too great an exertion to extend your journey to Washington. You can come from Washington to Phila in 20 hours and for nine dollars including all necessary expenses. Suppose this be the plan I will meet you in Phil. and you return with me to Washn and see the Capitol and so forth. If the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Bill pass the Senate, Washington will be a very busy place by August. The whole face of the city will be changed in a year and instead of dull, fashionable, idle & dissipated we shall become an industrious thriving and commercial people.

I am glad to hear that you think me a *favourite* of your fathers, tho' I fear your friendship has induced you to use too strong a term. I do place a very great value on the good opinion of such men as your father and it is my anxious desire to gain and retain it. If I have succeeded with regard to him I shall be truly happy.

I have received a circular from President Tyler and am yet doubtful whether I shall shall [sic] subscribe anything to the Institution I do not admire or approve the spirit of exclusive sectarianism which has long distinguished the Government of that College. I do not speak of any persons but of the general character of the Institution. I would be glad to see all denominations of Christians who unite in the Worship

of the same God and expect to be saved thro' the merits of the same Savior, renouncing the unessential points of difference and coalescing into one vast band of brethren, one mighty army of the Cross. It is in vain I suppose to look for such a state of things but I think it might be approximated. I am also astonished at the pertinacious refusal of the Trustees to take any steps to procure the fund of the State, by moderation & concession, especially when that fund has been virtually offered them in terms to say the least just and reasonable in my view.

I am still studying law with Mr Wirt and shall probably remain in the City until I am admitted to the bar which will be in about two years from next fall. Mr Wirt has a charming family and I visit there more than at any other place in the City. You may judge that I am there *sometimes* when I tell you that during the week ending today I have spent three evenings there, 'till eleven o'clock each evening. Mrs Wirt and two of her daughters are generally to be found at home. All of them play on some instrument and sing. Sometimes, one plays on the harp, another on the piano while a gentleman accompanies on the flute forming a most delightful concord of sweet sounds. Add to this that they are uncommonly intelligent and well informed and you will have some idea of their characters. Mrs. Wirt is herself a woman of a very superior and highly cultivated mind, of polished and elegant manners, and of delicate and refined taste.

Give my love to Folsom — tell him he may *dread* an answer to his interesting letter, to Smith and remind him that he is my debtor and that if he is not a little more punctual I mean to strike his name out of my books. Tell Swasey I intend to send him a number of the Telegraph[37] & a number of the Intelligencer[38] and a number of "We the People"[39] in lieu of a letter on politics. By the way do you know that Whipple from N. H. is crazy here and most of the time drunk.[40] The Speaker the other day went twice to a Rep from N. H. to get him to keep W— from making so much noise in the House. May He whose favour is better than life bless you —

Your truly Aff friend

WASHINGTON CITY September 3. 1828

MY DEAR TOM,

Your kind letter of July 23 has often come before my imagination like a perturbed spirit, demanding an answer and I have as often replied, "I shall soon have more leisure and then I will do it." But the

---

[37] Duff Green's newspaper, The United States Telegraph, established in the interests of Jackson and Calhoun.

[38] The National Intelligencer, an administration organ.

[39] A campaign paper favorable to Jackson.

[40] Dr. Thomas Whipple was a member of the House of Representatives from New Hampshire, 1821-1829.

little boy who returned from the vain pursuit of the rainbow with clothes tattered and hands scratched was not more sadly disappointed than I was when I anticipated a season of rest. Leisure — we may know the meaning of the term when in college we are willing to adopt almost any method to hasten the flight of the tardy hours, but when we have commenced our professional studies especially under circumstances like mine we may well be excused if we forget the definition of the word. And yet as we advance along the path of life how do incentives to exertion multiply around us. The farther our *time* of leisure recedes from us, the more do we feel ourselves impelled to the unremitting pursuit of that knowledge which at that *time* we perhaps so lightly regarded. Why is [it] that truth so often pours in it's light upon the mind only when it but serves to exhibit in more vivid colours the desolation which erroneous action founded on erroneous opinion has caused there? Why is it that we are thus suffered to trifle away the whole season of youth and only awake to a sense of our folly when it is too late to retreive our errors? I often feel myself ashamed when I review my slender stock of knowledge and compare it with that of those men whom I so often meet here and a consciousness that I idly flung away two of the best years of my life when in college adds the poignancy of sorrow to the feeling of shame. But like you when I left college I resolved to turn over a new leaf and for the past year I have been enabled to carry this resolution into effect and I have had but few idle moments. I hope you also will resolutely struggle with your habits of laziness (do I not speak plainly?) and on no account suffer yourself to relax in your efforts. If you do you may be sure you will realize in your experience, the fable of the spirited frog who jumped up two feet and fell back three! I will not ask you to make a calculation of the time which the said frog would require to attain any given height.

I was not sorry to hear that you had again undertaken the task of instruction. You will not find the knowledge of the elementary branches of education, which could not fail to become deeply impressed on your own mind while you were engaged in the duty of imparting a knowledge of them to others, of great utility. Besides your temper must either be ruined or greatly amended in a school, which you will [keep] and here is another great advantage to be derived from school-keeping. However if you do not like it you had better quit the business; for unless you can like it i. e. endure it, success is impossible. I do not believe that you can conscientiously assign incompetency as a reason for abandoning the employment. I know well that you are inclined to rate your attainments and abilities too low by far. The truth is you do not exert yourself and therefore cannot tell of what you are capable. I know you to be able to do many things and to do them well too which your extreme diffidence prevents you from undertaking. To instance in the matter of composition and you will allow I could

hardly select an instance in which appearances would be more against you. Now I know you can write and write well but your taste is more perfect than your style. You examine your own peice with Argus jealousy. Faults which in another's performance would entirely escape your notice glare upon you like some monstrous vision. And you condemn and commit to the flames a composition which had anybody else written it you would have praised. Now can you deny that you sometimes suspect that this is a true statement of the case. You cannot. Well: I *know* it is: for I have seen your writings know your feelings and can judge of both. I have been astonished to see how much can be accomplished by arrogant pretension in this world. Every day proves that nothing is easier than to deceive the majority of mankind by mere show and pretence. Thus gilt dust carries the palm while gold oerdust has its only satisfaction in railing at the folly and perversity of mankind. But there is a better way. Let the gold rub off it's dust & then while any accident may strip the putman of his outward coat and expose the vile material which is concealed beneath, no change, no circumstances can diminish the brightness of the genuine metal. Then dull indeed must be the perception and false indeed the taste which would prefer gilt to gold. Sir Richard Steel[e] observes of Sir C. Wren the famous architect "His art and skill were disregarded for want of that manner with which men of the world support their pretensions." "This bashful quality" he continues "has as fatal an effect upon men's reputation as poverty for as it is said, 'the poor wise man [word illegible] the city yet no man remembered that same poor man,' so here we find that the modest man built the city and the modest man's skill was unknown."[41] Excuse this long quotation, it is *so appropos.*

I heard of Gen. Poole's death with unfeigned sorrow. What does Mrs Poole do now? Does she still continue at Hanover? I have seldom met with a woman who united so many excellent qualities as Mrs Poole and any sorrow which she may encounter I am sure must be shared by all who know her. George will be a support and a consolation to her in her calamity. Do you know how soon his marriage with Williamine will take place?

---

[41] This passage is taken from The Tatler, No. 52, and is evidently quoted from memory. The passage with its context reads correctly as follows: "But Nestor's modesty was such that his art and skill were soon disregarded for want of that manner with which men of the world support and assert the merit of their own performances. Soon after this example of his art Athens was, by the treachery of its enemies, burnt to the ground. This gave Nestor the greatest occasion that ever builder had to render his name immortal, and his person venerable: for all the new city rose according to his disposition, and all the monuments of the glories and distresses of that people were erected by that sole artist. Nay, all their temples, as well as houses, were the effects of his study and labour; insomuch, that it was said by an old sage, 'Sure, Nestor will now be famous; for the habitations of gods, as well as men, are built by his contrivance'. But this bashful quality still put a damp

I am glad I succeeded in describing the Wirt family so as to excite your admiration. They well deserve it and perhaps at some future time I may endeavor to increase it. — Not a word against her whom you characterize as my *quondam Dulcinea*. I have no such attachment but I tell you in frankness that did I permit myself to think of these things I know no one to whom I would sooner offer heart and hand. But I hold it the merest folly in a young man, not possessed of an independent fortune, who is pursuing the study of law or Medicine to clog his free steps by incumbrances like these. By the way what has become of Miss Hall, *your quondam Dulcinea* the fame of which attachment reached even the Federal City and excited the attention of a magistrate therof. — My opinion of a certain one of whom I was so chivalrous a defender a year since is slightly changed and may change farther. Would that *all interested now* knew all the circumstances. Do any of your class come southward this fall. I should be glad to see any body from Old Dart. Remember me to your excellent Father and the family and believe me now as ever

Your Faithfully attached friend

Write soon & I will forgive the last —

WASHINGTON Nov. 10. 1828.

MY DEAR TOM,

Your kind letter of the 27th ult was received, as all your letters are with great pleasure and read even with more than usual interest. I am glad to hear you have formed so high an opinion of my cousin. I have ever heard her spoken of in terms of admiration by those who have had the good fortune to know her. I have never seen her but once and then, so brief was my visit that I do not now remember enough of her form or feature to be able to recognize her should we meet again. She has never visited her paternal relations and appears to have imbibed a prejudice against them, whether justly or not it is not for me to say. This prejudice, I presume, is in no degree removed as I gather from your letter that she did not visit them while on her

---

upon his great knowledge, which has as fatal an effect upon men's reputation as poverty; for as it was said, the poor man saved the city, and the poor man's labour was forgot; so here we see, the modest man built the city, and the modest man's skill was unknown. Thus we see every man is the maker of his own fortune; and what is very odd to consider, he must in some measure be the trumpet of his fame: not that men are to be tolerated who directly praise themselves, but they are to be endued with a sort of defensive eloquence, by which they shall be always capable of expressing the rules and arts by which they govern themselves." "Nestor" is, of course, another name for the famous Sir Christopher Wren, builder of St. Paul's Cathedral and many other edifices. I am indebted to Professor Milton Percival of the Ohio State University for this reference.

visit to the country last summer. I imagine her prejudice arises from suspicion that they would be influenced in their attentions to her by regard to her property; but I verily think she is mistaken in regard to most of them. As a family I do not think we have or deserve to have the reputation of loving money or the possession of money overmuch. Individuals among us, I doubt not, are open to this charge but it should be general. Now under the circumstances perhaps you will say I was foolish in making two attempts at distant intervals to remove or allay this feeling. I wrote to her once by mail while I was in College before I graduated. The letter was either not received or was not answered. Again I wrote last Spring by my Uncle[42], who represents Vermont in the Senate. This letter too was not received or deemed unworthy of an answer. The remark which she made to you induces me to think it possible she did not receive them. I wish I could be informed as to this point as it would materially influence the estimate I should form of her character. Of course under existing circumstances you would not wish me to follow your advice. I will say however that were the case otherwise I should pursue the course you point out; for, aside from the hope of being able to do away the prejudice I have mentioned, it would give me great pleasure to correspond with a young lady such as I have ever heard that my cousin is.

You enquire if Emeline Webster is married. She is. I was present at the ceremony and spent a most disagreeable evening. Not that her presence rendered it disagreeable but the party was very large and I abhor these promiscuous gatherings. I think her husband is every way superior to Olcott and I hope that the connexion will be a happy one.

I am glad to hear that you have commenced your professional studies and I should think that Boston would afford ample means and opportunities for improvement. If I may be allowed to exercize again the privilege I have so often assumed I would say to you, place your mark high. Aim at the accomplishment of great things and do not permit the allurements of pleasure or the fascinations of society, or the difficulties of study, to divert or deter you from a course steadily and rapidly onward. Individuals of the profession you have chosen have been eminent in all science and familiar with all literature. Many of them have been benefactors of mankind — men of enlarged liberal views whose souls have been too lofty to regard minute selfish interest in their generous ardor to ameliorate the condition of man. You, my dear friend, do not intend to live for yourself alone — you would desire that your name if known at all might be known as the name of one who in passing thro' life communicated, like a fertilizing stream, beauty and strength to all around. Take then as your examples the eminent of your profession and resolve to *surpass* them. It may be done. In-

[42] Dudley Chase, United States Senator from Vermont, 1813-1817 and 1825-1831.

dustry and a judicious application of time effects wonders. No man was ever great — truly great — without them, and with them any one not unfitted by providence, may excel. I have perhaps singular views of life. Certain it is that I regard this world not as a place of leisure — not as a place of selfish exertion, but as a vast theatre upon which each man has a part allotted to him to perform and duties to discharge which connect him closely with his fellowman. I confess I desire to be distinguished but I desire more to be useful and were the choice of exalted honour and undying fame or extensive tho humble usefulness offered to me I do not think I should hesitate a moment in my choice of the latter. And I do not regard myself as at liberty to make any disposition of my time that may suit my inclination but I esteem it as a sacred trust committed to me by my God every moment of which ought to be devoted to a diligent preparation to discharge any duties which He may call me to perform. Feeling thus myself you will excuse me if my interest in the welfare of a dear friend should prompt me to be too liberal of my counsel or too urgent in my exhortations.

You have ere this learned the result of the Presidential contest. The People have made choice of King Dragon and we must be content to abide the consequences. If I do not mistake the signs of the times you and I will live to see this Union dissolved & I do not know that New England has much reason to deprecate such an event. The proceedings at the South during the last summer, the measures adopted as preparatory, by the South Carolina delegation in Congress, last winter, and the recent election of an ignoramus, a rash, violent military chief to the highest civil office are fearful omens of approaching convulsions. It is my hope that Genl. Jackson will disappoint the fears of his opponents but I hope with much apprehension. Time however will shew and till then I trust the People of the North will hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

My life moves on in one unvaried course which will not probably be materially altered till I commence the practice of my profession. It is probable that Mr. Wirt will remove to New York next summer. In that event I shall, if I can so arrange matters, accompany him and continue my studies under his direction and finally settle in some part of that state if not in the city. If any of my acquaintances are in Boston remember me to them and do not forget to evince your sense of my punctuality by imitation.

Your sincere & Affectionate friend

Did E. see my letter to you?

WASHINGTON April 20. 1829[43]

MY DEAR SPARHAWK,

You say well that the dear people, are happy in having such faithful sentries upon the watchtowers of liberty. Thrice happy say I, "terque quatuorque beata" is *Freedom* in the possession of so chivalrous and *undaunted* an *advocate* as Isaac Hill whilom editor of the New Hampshire patriot and now reposing himself after the hard fought battle in the chair of the second Comptroller under the glorious administration of the greatest, wisest virtuousest of men, bravest of heroes and most profound of Presidents, Gen. Andrew Jackson, the Defender of New-Orleans, the farmer of Tennessee! This is a bright era in the History of America. The golden age of *disinterested* patriotism has returned. Resuscitated Independence will date from this auspicious epoch her new birth. Hurra for Jackson! Let the air be rent with the deafning acclaim. Jackson & Reform Let the echoes repeat it till the sound die away among the murmurs of the mighty Pacific. Wake from the dead Shade of the gigantic Johnson! Behold a wonder under the sun and confess your ignorance of the signification of terms. Patriotism means selflove, violence means energy, cruelty magnanimity, and reform the removal of an honourable opponent and the substitution of a servile tool.

This administration was appropriately denominated some weeks since as "the millenium of minnows." It is so truly. From all quarters have applicants for office been flocking, of all kinds and conditions. Not long since I am told a man went to the Treasury Department and enquired "Where's the mon that makes the clerks?" *He* wanted an office. I know not if he was successful in his application. — But the auspicious star of *the little* shines not merely upon the Jackson party. Johnson Eaton, the brother of the younger Mrs. Adams is to be married next week to his sister's serving maid. This, as you may suppose, has not only given the gossips a subject but has occasioned a great deal of distress and discord in the family of Mr. Adams. "Ainsi va la monde." The society here is not sufficiently enlightened with the new doctrine to be willing to receive Mrs. Eaton into it's bosom. So they say Mr. Eaton must have a foreign embassy and exhibit his lovely *wife*, his *better half* as the representative of American ladies at an European court. It will be well if she does not come to fisticuffs with her Grace the Duchess or my lady, the Marchioness.

I thank you for the friendly interest you take in my future destinies and assure you that nothing but the impossibility of the thing prevents me from pursuing the course which you point out to me. You ask why I do not at once go to Baltimore. I answer because there is a rule of court which would prevent me from commencing practise until after the lapse of three years and I do not wish to wait so long. It is my intention now to go immediately upon the completion of my engage-

[43] Postmarked April 18.

ment here either to the western part of the state of New York or to Ohio or to Frederick in Md. The last of these schemes is the least likely to be adopted of the three. But my intention may be materially changed upon subsequent information. My plan of life, so far as I have formed any is this. To pursue the practice of my profession undeviatingly until I have accumulated a little — enough to render me independent of the world and then to run a political career. I think in this way I may be more extensively useful than in any other and therefore I wish to pursue this course. I will not tell you all my day-dreams of good effected through my instrumentality lest you should doubt the sanity of your friend. There is one subject however which engages (and naturally enough) many of my thoughts and that is the simplification and improvement of the law. I would wish to contribute my poor efforts to the accomplishment of this great work. I would desire to see all the dark and circuitous by paths which conduct to the sanctuary of justice converted into a broad and beaten highway. I would be glad to see the sun of Jurisprudence shining with unclouded effulgence upon all, the rich & the poor, the learned and the ignorant; not hidden by clouds or obscured by a disastrous eclipse as it now is, serving but to render the darkness in which we are involved, *felt*. I am sure that much may be done by zealous devotion to effect this object. And could I render such a service to my country I would not give the consciousness of having done so, for all the crowns which ever encircled a monarch's brow or for all the plaudits which were ever lavished upon a successful warrior. I know I am enthusiastic, but this enthusiasm, this far-reaching anticipation is the source of happiness to me, and I would not exchange it for the contented tranquillity of a more phlegmatic disposition.

With regard to the Misses Wirt you are again mistaken. It *was* the engaged one who used to me the expressions I repeated to you and so your castle in the air must fall. They are all gone now; the two young ladies to Richmond and the rest of the family to Baltimore. I would (*I speak frankly*) I could cherish the anticipations to which you obviously allude. But it cannot be, says the stern voice of cold Reason, it cannot be. If I were a little more advanced in the world — even one short year it might be. But ignorant as I am of my future destinies, uncertain even as to the place where my lot may be cast, I feel it would be unjust to her to attempt to win her affections. And yet so strangely inconsistent is man with himself. I always forget all this when in her presence and half of my thoughts are employed upon this very subject & tho' Conviction continually extinguishes the taper of Hope, yet is it constantly relumed in my bosom. Now I have unfolded to you the precise nature of my feelings and have reposed in you a confidence which I know will be fully deserved.

I should be glad to hear of the fate of my letters to my cousin in your next, which I hope soon to receive. Remember me very respectfully

to your father and sister if she has not forgotten me and believe [me] ever

Your sincere & affectionate

Write me *in extenso* of your own affairs and plans in your next & thus countenance my *egotism.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Sept. 30. 1829.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

It was my intention to have written you as soon as I had returned[44] but I found so many things to do that in the whirl of occupations the little moments and the greater hours have slipped almost imperceptibly away and the thing has not been done. You however who so often need forgiveness (pardon the reminiscence) will not be very immitigable in your resentment. I returned here without accident and with renovated health. The journey was performed somewhat more rapidly than I anticipated when with you I went to Salem the same day I left Concord with George Punchard whom I found or rather who found me at Andover. You know I went down with Ward. When I arrived I felt thoroughly fatigued and threw myself on Ward's bed to rest myself. While there Punchard happened to be passing by and seeing Ward's window opened he concluded that he had returned and stepped in to enquire the news from Hanover. He found me there quite unexpectedly and told me he was going to Salem. I immediately agreed to go with him and off we went. The next day I went to see my sister at Ipswich and returned, bid goodbye to our noble friend and his admirable family and went to Boston. Here I unluckily missed seeing Smith in consequence of an oversight on my part. I saw none of our acquaintances in Boston as it was too late when I arrived to seek them out that evening and the next day was Sunday. On Monday morning I was off — passed thro N. Y. the next day without stopping an instant — slept at Philadelphia and the next evg. at 8 o'clock was comfortably seated at Baltimore in the midst of my friends the Wirts. I remained in Baltimore till Saturday when I came here as a dog that is dragged back to a chain from which he has been temporarily freed. I always feel when I have been absent from the city a little while and pass by the Capitol on my return, a sort of involuntary sinking of the heart for which I cannot account unless it be that I detest the drudgery and thanklessness of school-keeping. Well it is a source of some consolation that I shall soon be released from it. I can *see thro'* as they say in the Western forests and I will strive to divert my mind from the gloom around me, from the rugged surface and tangled ways of the wood to yonder clear blue sky which I can just discern thro the interstices of the interlaced

[44] Chase had left Washington on July 31 for a visit with his mother and sister in New England. Incidentally he had spent a few days with Sparhawk in Concord, N. H.

boughs. And I am not sorry that I have been a pedagogue. It is good to have borne the yoke in one's youth. It is well to have made trial of this world. It is a test — a criterion of strength — energy — power. When I returned I found that the Secretary of War was likely to be involved in a disagreeable difficulty on account of his wife. A curious version of this affair has found it's way into the newspapers and has been published I perceive in the N. H. Journal in which statement there are not two grains of truth. It was written either by a dunce or a knave — either by some busy meddler who could not ascertain the true state of the case or by some designing fellow who wished for particular reason to impose a false statement on the public. I am inclined to think that the last supposition is nearest the truth. The true state or nearly a true state of the case is this. Sometime last March Mr. [J. M.] Campbell a clergyman of this city in a confidential conversation with Dr. [E. S.] Ely of Phila. a staunch adherent of Genl. Jackson mentioned some circumstances respecting the character of Mrs. Eaton when Mrs. Timberlake with a view that being repeated to Gen. J. by Dr. Ely they might prevent the appt. of Maj. Eaton as Secy. of War Dr Ely said nothing about them at the time. Maj. Eaton was appointed and here the matter rested for a time. Subsequently Dr. Ely finding that the character of the administration was suffering from the attempts made by the Genl. to obtrude this woman on Society wrote to him detailing to him these circumstances stating that he had recd. them from a clergyman but without mentioning his name. Genl. J. communicated the contents to the Secy. and Mrs. Eaton immediately departs for Phila. to demand the name of the audacious offender. It was given up and she returned. Mr. Campbell declared to Gen. J. the whole course he had taken and the motives by which he was influenced. *He approved of them but subsequently after conversing with E——— saw fit to recant his approval.* Various attempts were then made to intimidate Mr. C. and induce a recantation but in vain. Genl. J——— in the true spirit of the despotism which has marked his every exercise of power has withdrawn himself from Mr. C's church and Maj Eaton his worthy friend after having magnanimously threatened personal violence to a peaceful clergyman, says nothing about the matter at present. Mr. C. is absent from the city. I cannot tell what will be done when he returns. Such is an abridgment of the whole affair as I believe it stands.[45] My affectionate respects to your excellent father and mother. In a great hurry.

Your very aff. friend

---

[45] Chase gives a more explicit account of this affair in his diary under date of September 5, 1829: "Mr. Campbell, a Presbyterian clergyman in Washington, had stated in confidence to Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia, with a view to prevent the appointment of Maj. Eaton to the Cabinet, that Mrs. E. had been delivered of a child when she was Mrs. Timberlake, supposed to be by Maj. E., and that various other reports, greatly prejudicial to the character of both, had been for some time in circula-

WASHINGTON Jany. 15. 1830.

MY DEAR SPARHAWK,

What apology shall I make for my long silence. Shall I tell you how often I have determined to write immediately and how often some duty seemingly more imperative in it's claims would drag me from this more pleasant one? Shall I tell how much I have to do? Shall I plead the harrassing anxiety which constantly accompanies indecision as to future residence — especially when the hour is nigh at hand when that die, so pregnant with good or evil, must be thrown? Will any or all of these apologies avail? If so then, my dear friend, you will not impute my silence to a wrong cause and of course will not retaliate upon me.

You mentioned in your last a dangerous illness of your excellent father. As I have since heard nothing from you I trust he is restored

---

tion. Dr. Ely had made no use of the information then but some time afterward wrote to the President, informing him of the circumstances, and giving Mr. Campbell's name as the author of the report. The President immediately sent for Mr. C., who confessed that he had made the statement to Dr. E., explained his motives, and showed his authority. The President was apparently contented. But, the next day, he had changed his mind, and called upon Mr. C. to deny his belief in the charge. Mr. C. replied that he could not — when the President became angry, and talked of a suit for slander. Mr. C. now thought it expedient to prepare for the worst, and with that view requested me to call with him at Mrs. Williams' to-day. I went and the old lady told us that she was a neighbor to Mrs. Timberlake, and that Mrs. O'Neale, the mother of Mrs. T., had told her that she had had twins in the absence of Mr. T. This was the amount of her statement, but from other sources Mr. C. gathered a mass of evidence sufficient, and more than sufficient, to establish every allegation he had made, not as of his own knowledge, but as resting upon the credit of a particular individual and upon the strength of common report. A few days afterward a conclave was held at the palace, for the extraordinary purpose of taking this affair into consideration.

"Nearly the whole Cabinet was present, and some extra counselors summoned for the special occasion. These last were Dr. Ely and Mr. Auditor Lewis. Mr. C. was summoned to appear and answer for himself. I can not state the particulars as they transpired. I have now no note of the transaction, and the minutiæ have faded from my memory. However, the President became highly exasperated, and attributed the whole affair to the agency of Mr. Clay, and Mr. C. left the room indignant at the treatment he had received, and determined to publish the whole affair to the world. Dr. Ely followed him and entreated him to change his resolution. At last he consented. Many other incidents grew out of this. The ladies of Washington excluded Mrs. E. from their society, and so the matter still rests. Eaton has threatened personal violence to Mr. C., but will not probably execute his threat; and Mrs. E. called herself on Mr. C., and after alternate abuse and entreaty, screaming and fainting, finding the whole ineffectual, declared that his blood should be spilt for his audacity." Warden, S. P. Chase, 148.

As this extract indicates, the evidence of Mrs. Eaton's guilt was by no means conclusive. Professor J. S. Bassett, the most recent biographer of Jackson, presents a well-balanced account of this affair in his chapter on "The Eaton Malaria."

to his usual health. I can sympathize with you in the anxiety which you must have felt. I have so often and so keenly felt the want of paternal aid and guidance and from want we [are] often enabled to appreciate more truly than by possession, that I can do with more reality than most men. But long may you be spared the sad experience which has been mine. Long may your revered father enjoy the love and honour to which his many and lofty virtues so justly entitle him.

Things here are in very much the same situation as when I wrote last. The political parties have not yet separated. Tho it is probable enough that e'er the session has closed Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Calhoun will be openly proclaimed by their respective adherents as candidates for the next Presidency. Of these two Mr. Van Buren is at present so far as can be judged by indications here is [sic] unquestionably the strongest. Mr. Calhoun, however is much the ablest man. Van Buren has never been conspicuous as the originator or constant advocate of any one great measure. The United States Bank which has saved the country from financial ruin, is the child of Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Van Buren has been a successful intriguer without ever manifesting any of those splendid mental endowments which constitute the great statesman.[46] Mr. Calhoun, of too lofty a spirit to stoop to the arts and chicane of political tacticians, rests his high pretensions upon his unrivalled ability in affairs of state. And this is the true reason why he is comparatively weak. The day has past, I fear forever past in this country, when a man will be rated according to his intellectual strength, extensive experience or moral excellence. But my fear is mingled with hope. Amid the gloomy clouds which overhang our future destiny I sometimes think I can discover, faint revealings of the bow of promise. It has for some time been my opinion that a mighty moral revolution is taking place throughout our land. If it be so, then is the day at hand when this nation shall be as no nation hath been. The time approaches when the intellect of man, no longer confined by superstition or despotic will, shall expand over the whole range of knowledge; when improvement shall reach it's uttermost limit; and man, disenthralled from the bondage of error and the worse bondage of sin, shall be what his maker intended he should be the chief glory of all his works. Do not laugh at my enthusiasm but think of the subject and see if you do not arrive at the same result. I have not time or space now for the development of my own views of the whole matter but they appear to me to be reasonable. But whither have I been led? To go back I will say that while Mr. Calhoun & Van Buren are the only actors on the stage at present Mr. Clay's friends are neither asleep or unwatchful. Nor are they weak. They do not outnumber the united friends of the gentlemen I have named — but divided they would be stronger than either party.

[46] Such are the mutations of politics that eighteen years later Chase supported Van Buren for president of the United States.

Now as to myself I am here thinking of my situation and trying to decide upon my future residence. It is my present opinion that I shall go to Cincinnati but I am uncertain as farther information may change my determination. At all events I shall remain here four or five weeks longer. I have relinquished the school to Smith and have been admitted to the Bar.[47] Smith is I believe well pleased with his situation. Tho there are some *désagémens* about it with which one cannot easily reconcile himself. Instructors here are not esteemed as they are at the North and no wonder for of all men assuming the duties of that relation I do not think a more miserable set could be selected than those who are located here. I do not associate with them and in fact tho I have been in the city for three years I am yet acquainted with but one teacher How then can a man expect to be pleased when his *profession* ranks him with a degraded *caste?*

I shall be looking for a letter from you soon. Please remember me to all my friends in Boston. If you can find it convenient call soon at Mr. Lamb's, Winthrop Place, & see Mr. Elliott, a young gentleman who left this last Monday for Boston and who will remain there I suppose a *few* days. He is a fine fellow.

Your very affectionate friend

CINCINNATI OHIO June 12. 1830.

MY DEAR SPARHAWK.

You will be somewhat surprised to receive a letter from your old friend dated in this ultra-montane world and really I am a little surprised to find myself here a *practising attorney*, but as yet without practice except in the *moot-court!* I feel almost sorry that I ever left New England but upon the whole I do not know that I have found thus far

[47] He was admitted to the bar in December, 1829, under circumstances which he describes as follows in a letter to Trowbridge: "Very seldom, I imagine, has any candidate for admission to the bar presented himself for examination with a slenderer stock of learning. I was examined in open court. The venerable and excellent Justice Cranch put the questions. I answered as well as I was able — how well or how ill I cannot say — but certainly, I think, not very well. Finally, the Judge asked me how long I had studied. I replied that, including the time employed in reading in college and the scraps devoted to legal reading before I regularly commenced the study, and the time since, I thought three years might be made up. The Judge smiled and said, 'We think, Mr. Chase, that you must study another year and present yourself again for examination.' 'Please your honors,' said I deprecatingly, 'I have made all my arrangements to go to the Western country and practise law.' The kind Judge yielded to this appeal, and turning to the clerk said, 'Swear in Mr. Chase.' Perhaps he would have been less facile if he had not known me personally and very well." Schuckers is authority for the statement that the law of Maryland made three years' study a prerequisite for admission to the bar of the state and holds that Judge Cranch's comments reflected in no way upon Chase's fitness for admission. Schuckers, S. P. Chase, 30.

much reason to regret that course. I have studied my profession *after a sort:* have been admitted to the Courts of the District and the Courts of Ohio: have made some acquaintance with the great men and have seen a little of the great world:—and now nearly four eventful years have elapsed since I took my sheep skin at Dartmouth (dear old Dartmouth!) and sallied forth to seek my fortune aet. 18 as they say upon the tombstones. Well and how should I have spent the time had New England still detained me with[in] her loved borders? Verily I cannot tell: but I see no great reason to suppose that I should have been much better or wiser or richer than I am now. *Qua cum ita sint* it seems to me that I have not much cause to repine. But I wont pester you any more with my *egoism* until I have exhausted other topics.

I was rejoiced to hear that the health of your excellent father was so far restored. The exercise which his new situation will constantly induce him to take will I trust, complete his restoration. I thank you for your kind invitation and assure you that there are few in N. E. whom I should more desire to see and were my purse as full of dollars as your heart is of kindness I should lose no time in setting out. But now is the spring of my fortune. As yet not even the tender shoots appear. If they do rise there may come a cruel frost to nip them in the bud. So you see it is a thing impossible to hope for that I should see New England for a year or two at least.

Do you know the Dr. Howard who married my cousin Elizabeth? What sort of a gentleman is he? There is another brother of the *Pill* here from Boston who has accomplished a conquest of one of our loveliest ladies. His name is Hayward and he says he is acquainted with my cousin-in-law and speaks well of him. The lady is the youngest daughter of Judge [John] McLean who, some say, will be president of the U. S. one of these days. Only think of a Bostonian seeking a wife in the far West where when he was a child (some thirty years since) scarce a tree had been cut down so as to let in the light of the blessed sun upon the soil. So change all things of earth! But isn't it an excellent thing to be a stranger? One would think the world has grown wondrous charitable did we see nothing but the consequence which one enjoys in a strange place. My left hand to a Queen Anne's shilling Dr. H could not have obtained so pretty a girl in Boston and so highly gifted with other advantages, as Miss McLean.

I would tell something about Cincinnati but I scarcely know where to begin. The city has sprung up at once as it were from the bosom of mother earth, like Minerva proceeding armed at all points from the skull of Jupiter which I take to have been about the most monstrous conception ever begotten in the brain. Thirtyfive years ago and where Cincinnati now stands was one immense forest in the midst of wh. rose one or two mounds, mechancoly [sic] types of past ages. A few trees had been cut down on the margin of the river and a few huts had been constructed of their trunks. Fort Washington was built after-

wards and the striped and starred banner floated proudly over the spot where the Turkish crescent now glitters. A bazaar has been erected there in the fantastic style of eastern Architecture. And every thing had changed. The Ohio formerly rolled her waters along the base of abrupt overhanging banks but now the bank has been made to slope gently down to the waters edge from a great distance and is paved like the streets of Boston. There is a solid bed of stone extending a considerable distance up and down the river. Then [MS. torn] trees hung their branches over the flood. Now extensive warehouses and hotels lift their imposing fronts. Then a solitary canoe was now and then to be seen guided by the Indian huntsman moving over the water, loaded with the spoils of the chace. Now fleets of steam-vessels shoot swiftly along, annihilating distance and bearing in their ample bosoms the productions of the whole world. Is it not wonderful — passing wonderful, the difference between then and now?[48]

Goodbye, my dear Tom, remember me affectionately to every member of your family — do not neglect writing so long again and believe [me] with sincerest affection

Your friend

P. S. Do you know what has become of Geo. Punchard?

---

[48] Writing in the *Cincinnati America* some time afterward Chase gave in greater detail his first impressions of Cincinnati. A portion of this description is worthy of reproduction in connection with the above account: "Thirty-five years ago our city was, as he [Daniel Webster] said it was, a little opening in the midst of a vast, unbroken forest. And what is it now? Let us look around us. Let us walk around Cincinnati and take note of what we see. First, there is the great landing, sloping down from Front street to the water's edge, a declivity of between sixty and seventy feet in perpendicular elevation, and reaching along the river more than two whole squares. The noble stream is up now, and a part of this immense work is hidden from view. Yet enough is visible to show that it would be a difficult matter to find a structure like it anywhere. If the rise of water hides the landing it shows the steamboats for the use of which the landing was made. There they are, of a stately structure, fitting the river on whose bosom they rush along, and the mighty territory whose productions they carry to a distant market. As if Providence had designed this spot for their use, the river, generally careering on with a rapid current, here sweeps round an eddy, and thus forms a natural harbor, as it were, for them. They are discharging and receiving their cargoes. To-morrow almost every one of them will be gone, and their places will be filled with others.

"As we proceed eastward, coming up into the city a little, our ears are greeted with the sound of busy occupation, and our eyes with the sight of the numerous factories. There are the steam mill, and the cotton factories, and the saw mill factories, and the engine factories, and others that we have not room to enumerate. Here is the principal source of the wealth and prosperity of our city. *It is labor that gives value to every thing.* The raw material is worthless till it is wrought. What purpose serves the iron in the earth? What good does the cotton ere it be gathered? Labor must be applied before value can be created. . . .

"We pass on eastward until we come to the water works, and then climb up the hill that lies just down upon the river, until we attain a commanding position for a panoramic view of the valley. The first thought that strikes us is, that this spot must have been marked out for a high destiny in the councils of heaven. That wide amphitheater below must surely have been scooped out on purpose to be the seat of a great city. On all sides it is guarded by the everlasting hills, which seem, from this point, to be arrayed around the whole valley, in the form of an ellipsis. We see *La Belle Rivière* entering it from the northeast. It sweeps round in a beautiful curve, and we see it again far off and seeming like a zone of silver, binding nature's verdant apparelling, gliding away tranquilly toward the mighty Mississippi. From the north and the south several small streams are seen pouring in their scanty tribute. The canal comes in from the north, and is covered with boats. We close our eyes for a moment and listen. We hear, from the river, the roaring of the stream; from the canal, the notes of the bugle; and from the entire city, that confused noise of the rattling of wheels and the jar of machines, and the clamor of voices, which always indicate the presence of a multitudinous population. We open our eyes again and we almost imagine that we see the city grow. We do see all the symptoms of vigorous growth. There are factories, more than we saw when in the valley, and in every part of the city. There are many churches, some of them grand in their proportions, and splendid in their architecture. There are the residences of some of our private citizens that show like palaces. There are extending streets and multiplying erections of every description, on the two levels that, with the connecting declivity between them, form the area of this vast amphitreater. There are the markets, not quite so neat fabrics as they might be, but filled to the overflowing with the abundance of the surrounding country, and crowded by the great multitude who live to eat, or eat to live. There, too, is NOT — alas! that we must say so — a CITY HALL worthy of the greatness and opulence of our city.

"Having now cast a general and rapid glance over the scene before us, we descend the hill, and we meet with men not yet past the prime of life, who tell us that when they were boys they used to gather grapes and hunt squirrels and wild turkeys over the very spot where these thick-crowding edifices now stand."— Warden, S. P. Chase, 185-187.

THE ULRICH GROUP OF MOUNDS.*

BY TRUMAN B. MILLS.

The Ulrich group of mounds have been so named by reason of the location of two of the mounds upon the farm of Mr. Joseph Ulrich situated about two and one-half miles west of Farmersville, in Jackson township, Montgomery county, Ohio. Six or more mounds comprise the group, four of which were examined by the writer during the summer months of 1916 and 1917. Except for one mound—that located upon the farm formerly owned by Mr. J. H. Fortney—all of the mounds were of very small size. Whether to class these small tumuli with the larger one has been a somewhat puzzling question, but since they were all explored together, and found in close proximity to each other, the term Ulrich Group is not inappropriate.

All of the mounds examined had been disturbed, more or less, by earlier explorers. They left no written record of their work, but some of the older inhabitants of the region stated that few objects or burials had been found by these men. At the Fortney mound, however, it was evident that three burials had been disturbed, and some beads, and objects of copper found. A diligent search gave us no trace of the whereabouts of these specimens, at the present time.

MOUND NO. I.

The first mound of this group to be examined was located upon the farm of Mr. Ulrich, two and one-half miles west of Farmersville, and three-fourths of a mile south of the pike. The mound occupies a position upon the high ground, in the

* The examination of the Ulrich Group of Mounds was made by Mr. Mills under the supervision of the Curator and the contents of the group are owned by the museum and now on exhibition in the North Hall, second floor. Mr. Mills assisted in the exploration of the Westenhaven Mound near Circleville and the Tremper Mound near Portsmouth prior to his exploration of the Ulrich Group. — Editor.

woods, some distance west of Tom's Run, a tributary to Twin Creek. The dimensions of the mound were fifty feet east and west by forty feet north and south. The central core of the mound was removed and only the rim left standing, but no traces of graves were found.

Three feet north of the center a charred log was found, about two feet above the base-line. Just over this log was a cache of leaf-shaped implements, chipped from vari-colored flint, and ranging in size from two to three and one-half inches in length. There were twenty specimens in this deposit. Some of the pieces had been affected by the heat from the smouldering log. Two and one-half feet east of this cache, and at the same level was another deposit of flint pieces, similar in design and workmanship with those of cache number one. The number of pieces composing the second find was twenty-three. Lying just above this were four spearheads of larger size. A large spear five inches in length, of square-shouldered pattern and made from a dark colored flint, was found at a depth of eighteen inches from the surface of the mound. Two other flint objects of the leaf design were found several inches above the last mentioned spear. One of these pieces is six and one-fourth inches in length, and made from a translucent piece of chalcedony. The other is four inches long and two and one-fourth inches broad—made from a dark fossiliferous flint. The most extraordinary specimen in the whole lot, however, is a cream-colored leaf-shaped blade made of clear Flint Ridge chalcedony, ten inches in length and three inches in breadth. This large piece was lying among the roots of a maple tree, scarcely six inches below the surface of the mound. The blade is shown in Fig. 1.

Two weeks digging in the southern and western portions of the mound did not bring to light any more specimens except a few small flint pieces, and gorget with concave sides, made of blue, banded slate. Work was brought to a close on the mound without finding any evidence of a burial having been made by the builders. Perhaps earlier explorers took out a skeleton here, but no record of such has been found to date.

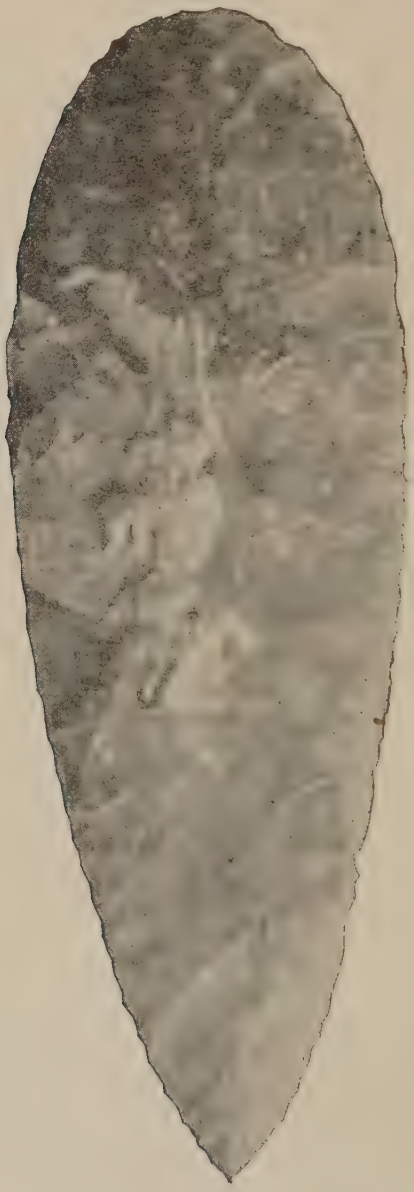


Fig 1.

MOUND NO. 2.

After finishing mound number one of this group, work was begun upon a small mound located north of number one, on the same side of the creek, and a few yards north of the turnpike, which leads to Farmersville. This work was about the same size as number one, and was covered with a growth of trees of some size, the roots of which were found all thru the mound and, consequently, made digging very laborious. Aside from this, the stiff, red clay of the structure was hard to loosen with the mattock. The presence of the trees made it impossible to examine the entire structure, consequently we had to be satisfied with trenching from west to east.

At a point three and one-half feet south-west of the center a large deposit of brick-red clay was encountered. It appeared to have been taken up from an area where a fire had been in progress for some time. In this mass of clay were the remains of a skeleton, the bones of which were in a broken condition, and much scattered thru the clay. Some of the bones showed signs of having been subjected to heat. With the skeleton was a boat-shaped gorget, with two holes drilled at the center, but not to completion. A trench dug into the northern portion of the mound, a short distance from the center, revealed a few pieces of wood, an unfinished slate object, one large celt, which had been in the fire, one dark colored, notched spearhead, three inches in length, and a boat-shaped gorget of the same type and workmanship as the one found with the skeleton. This last named gorget was also made of banded slate, but the two holes on each side of the center perforated the gorget. The specimen is shown in Fig. 2.

Work on the mound was brought to a close on account of the extremely hard digging and the presence of the large trees, which could not be removed. No doubt a complete examination of the mound might reveal more objects of interest and possibly another burial.

MOUND NO. 3.

In the northwestern part of German township, just a few hundred yards from the township line, is situated the third mound of this group. It is also very small; in fact it is the smallest of the three mounds, and is located in the woods on the farm now owned by Mr. Adam Gilbert. Permission to explore the work was obtained from Mr. Gilbert and operations were begun in August, 1916. Previous explorations by others, who had dug into the center, revealed nothing of interest as far as can be learned.

The mound measured thirty-nine feet east and west by forty feet north and south. It was built of a stiff clay resembling

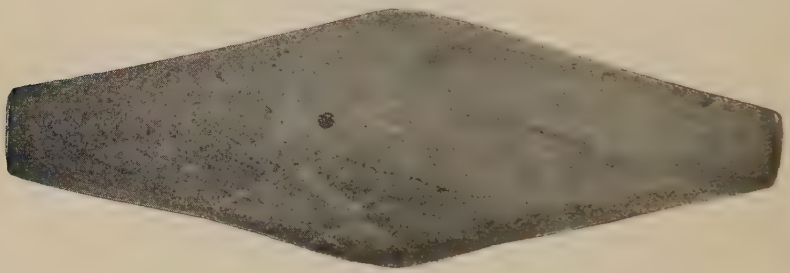


FIG. 2.

that used in the construction of mound number two. There were no trees growing upon its surface. This, therefore, gave us an opportunity to examine the entire structure. Altho it was the most thoroly explored, it was the least interesting member of the group.

Work was begun at the southern rim and carried thru to the north side, taking in this way, the entire structure. At the center, the fragments of a slate tube were found. These pieces had evidently been thrown out by earlier explorers in the course of the work. A thoro examination of the base and the contents of the mound proper revealed nothing until we reached a point a few feet northeast of the center. Here at the base-line the remains of the skeleton of a child were found. The burial had been made in a stiff clay, and consequently nothing remained save a few teeth and the fragments of the skull. Immediately

beneath this, however, at a depth of one foot below the base-line, were the remains of an adult skeleton also very much decayed. In fact, the leg bones were the only ones that were in a condition that they could be removed from the grave. The remainder of the bones were but a mere semblance of their former condition. This grave had been dug below the base, with the foot of the grave just northeast of the center of the mound. Except for a ball made from a granite rock, which was found on the base-line just west of the grave, no relics of any kind were found here. Following this, the work was carried to the northern rim without results.

THE FORTNEY MOUND.

Mound number four of this group is situated upon the farm formerly owned by J. H. Fortney, one and one-fourth miles southwest of Farmersville, section thirty-three of Jackson township. Number four has been called the "Cedar Mound" or the "Fortney Mound". Just west of this large tumulus are some low earthen walls enclosing a village site. This place has been known as "The Fort". It was perhaps a fortified village occupied by the builders of the Mound or by later Indians; possibly both frequented the site in days gone by.

The mound was located upon a spur projecting from the side of the valley overlooking Twin Creek. This was an ideal location for such a monument. From its crest one could command a wonderful view of the valley below. Here the builders might have come to watch the deer and other animals as they came to the creek for water, or to make observations up and down the valley for an enemy. The site is a favorite resort of visitors even to this day. But the location is not favorable for its own preservation. A portion of the work had already washed down the hillside, and the remainder was fast becoming a prey to the inroads of washouts. In order to save the contents of this mound for scientific study it was necessary to make a complete examination of the structure.

A survey of the mound found it to be oblong in shape, eighty-three feet in length, forty-five feet in width, and from twelve to fifteen feet in height on the crest. The long axis of the

work ran somewhat northwest and southeast. It lay parallel to the side of the valley. The slopes of the mound were very steep and corresponded very well with the valley wall on the southern side; this was due, of course, to erosion.

As the work progressed it became evident that there were two different stages in the erection of the mound. There was, however, no great lapse of time between the two stages. These conclusions are based upon the finding of the central portion of the mound composed of a loamy earth intermingled with a stiff clay, while the top four or five feet were found to be composed of a stiff clay with little or no "top soil". In many places there was a strong demarcation between the two layers, showing that there was a suspension of the work for a short time at least. Perhaps the mound was built to the height of the central portion and considered completed but the deaths of some prominent individuals later prompted the builders to make additions to the mound. The truth of this supposition seems to be borne out when we note the finding of four graves in this tough clay section of the top and eastern end of the mound. Now, when this later addition was made a different kind of soil was used and it seems likely that this soil was taken from the adjacent gullies, for here would have been an ideal place for the filling of the baskets, easily. Why this was not resorted to in building the central portion is, of course, a matter of conjecture.

The examination revealed eight burials, three of which had been disturbed by earlier investigators. These three burials have been represented as A, B, and C below;

Burial A.—The skeleton found here was not entire. The majority of the bones had been removed by relic hunters years ago. The grave occupied a position of prominence at the edge of the spur, overlooking the valley. It had been dug to a depth of about three feet below the base-line, and the mound was later erected over it. The persons who dug here years ago reported some objects of copper which have been lost. The grave was dug beside number five, which will be spoken of later.

Burial B.—Almost the entire skeleton had been removed from this grave prior to our examination. The grave was located about ten feet from the southern rim of the mound, twelve feet

east of the center, and two and one-half feet above the base-line. A "carpet of bark" had been prepared in the grave and the body had been placed upon it. No traces of relics of any kind were discovered in the grave.

Burial C.—This grave was found in close proximity to numbers one and two, to be spoken of later. The burial had been made near the top of the mound, about twelve feet east of the center, and the skeleton had been exhumed by the Fortney boys, years before. From them I learned that a quantity of beads, similar to the ones found with the other skeletons in the mound, had been found by them.

Burial No. 1.—This burial had been made at a depth of five feet below the top of the mound, and twelve feet east of the center of the structure. The skeleton lay with the head to the south, and with the body turned upon its side, a fine layer of white ashes covered the bottom of the grave, and extended for some distance around. Buried with this individual were two strands of beads; one strand was placed around the neck and the other lay in the abdominal region. The beads found around the neck are about fifty in number, rather uniform in size, and varying in shape from cylindrical to round. All of them are made from the columellas of marine shells. The second strand, found in the abdominal region numbers about eighty, and are all smaller than those found around the neck. Practically all of these are of a button shape. Aside from these objects, a flint spear, five inches in length made of dark nodular flint, was found beside the feet of the skeleton.

Burial No. 2.—Lying just west of number one about two feet, and at the same level, was the skeleton of an old woman, the bones of which were remarkably well preserved. All the teeth had been lost before death except the lower incisors. The skeleton was lying with the head to the south, a reversed position from that of skeleton number one. The bones were lying upon a layer of ashes, and leaves or twigs, and some ashes had also been sprinkled over the body. The only objects with this skeleton were some beads of shell, which, for the most part were small, cylindrical, and extremely well made. The beads were around the neck. Nine of these occupied a position just beneath

the chin, and were considerably larger than the remaining ones. These larger beads were well made, about three-fourths of an inch in thickness, and cut from the same material as the first ones. The necklace is shown in Fig. 3.

Burial No. 3.—This grave lay twenty feet east of the center, at a depth of six feet and six inches below the top of the mound. The skeleton was lying on a layer of bark which extended for two feet on each side of the bones. The skeleton was that of an adult female, lying in a horizontal position with all of the bones present except those of the feet. It seems likely that this person had been interred elsewhere and was later brought here for burial. No objects were found in the grave.

The finding of these four graves, numbers 1, 2 and 3, together with C, in the tough clay or outer mound leads us to believe that the burials were made here after work on the inner mound had been suspended for some time. The method used in burying in this section of the mound was the same as that of the inner section. The character of the objects found in the two sections was the same. In short, no evidence was found pointing to the presence of two different cultures.

Burial No. 4.—This was the most interesting of the burials encountered. We may also call it the central grave of the mound. It became evident after the burial had been worked out that the skeleton had been placed in position after the mound had been built to a height of about three feet. The death of this individual who had, perhaps, superintended the construction of the mound to that height must have been a great calamity for his followers. Therefore, in order to show respect for their lost leader, a burial of great pomp was given him.

A grave of large dimensions was excavated, from the portion of the mound already built, to a depth of about three feet, very near the original surface of the ground. After finishing this part of the work a layer of oak bark and puncheons was placed in the bottom of the grave, up the sides, and out for a short distance upon the level. Then flat stones (limestones and shale) were laid around the edges of the bottom of the grave, and upon these was placed a double row of logs, forming, as it were, a square pen, twelve feet by twelve. In the center of this pre-

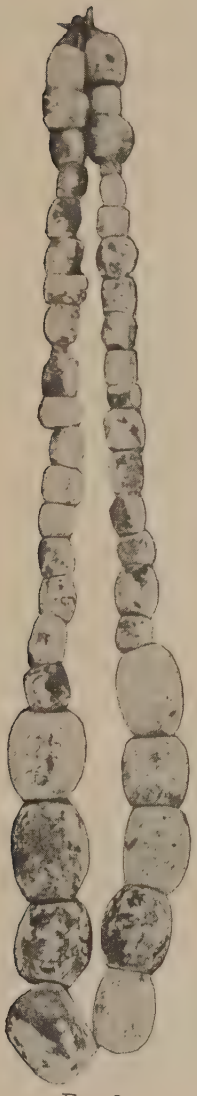


FIG. 3.

FIG. 5.

pared grave the body was placed, with feet to the east, and arms lying naturally by the sides. The legs and arms showed traces of the paint which once adorned the person. Across the knees was placed a large copper axe, nine inches long, and five inches broad at the bit. The edge of the axe is blunt, showing that it had not been entirely finished. Two wrappings of cloth and buckskin encased the axe, the cloth having retained its original shape has left a strong impression upon the surface of the axe. The weight of this remarkable axe is five pounds. The axe is shown in Fig. 4. Around the neck of the skeleton was a strand of beads numbering three hundred. These beads were also of shell, finely made and well polished. They were all small. The necklace is shown in Fig. 5. After the interment, a fine layer of ashes was placed over the body, and the grave was then filled with an admixture of fine woods earths. Following this the mound was built up to the second stage.

Burial No. 5.—This was a subterranean burial placed near the edge of the spur upon which the mound was built. The grave had been dug just west of A, to a depth of one and one-half feet. Lying in the grave was the skeleton of an adult with some of the bones missing. The individual, however, was of some importance as attested by the character of the objects placed in the grave with him. Upon the chest was found a large rectangular plate of copper, thirteen inches in length, five inches in breadth, and thinly beaten. The surface had been finely polished, and the piece had, no doubt, been wrapped in cloth. A small portion of the cloth still adheres to the plate. The plate is shown in Fig. 6. Lying just beneath this plate was a white limestone gorget, pierced with two holes, while scattered about this were four or five snow-white shell beads, very poorly preserved. No other objects were found.

There was one feature about this last grave which seemed to be somewhat unusual. Before the burial was made here, the sides of the grave were lined with bark, and extending from the head of the grave a carpet of this bark was laid upon the natural surface for a distance of six feet towards the central portion of the mound. The width of this carpet was about two and one-half feet. Just to the left of the bark was a deposit of charcoal,

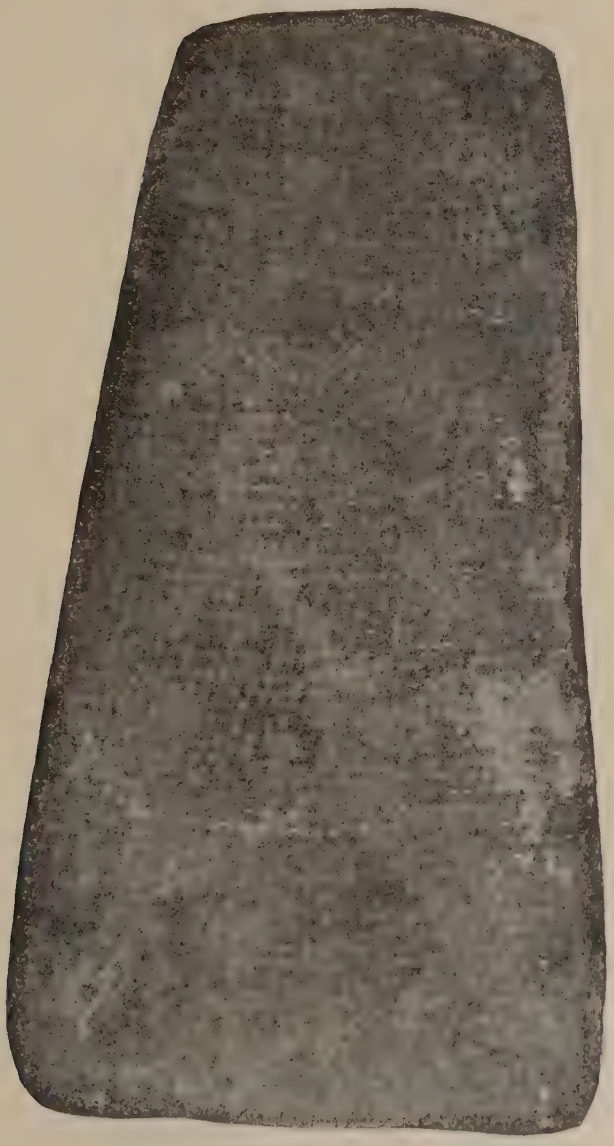


FIG. 4.

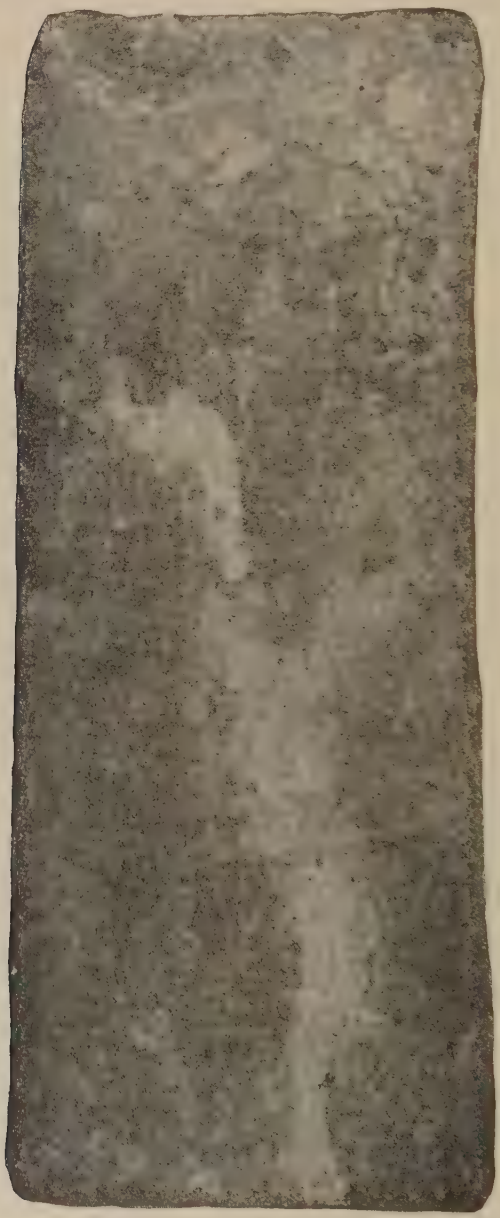


FIG. 6.

which seemed to indicate, that a fire had been in progress here for some time. Now, the whole arrangement suggested the idea that, perhaps, the skeleton had been brought here from its original grave and placed upon the carpet of bark beside this grave; while it was lying there a fire was built and some ceremonies gone thru with before interment was made. Later the body was lowered into the grave, the objects placed with it, and the earth filled in.

RESUME.

A discussion dealing with the identity of the builders of these mounds is not to be entered into here. A simple record of facts is given. It is evident, nevertheless, that the burial customs of the builders of these mounds did not differ very much from those in vogue among the builders of many other mounds found in this section of the state. In conclusion, let it be sufficient to say, that the mounds are Pre-Columbian in age.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Many obstacles were encountered in carrying on this work and a great deal of the work could not have been accomplished without assistance. Accordingly I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following persons:

I am especially indebted to my wife, who aided me greatly in the field work, to my father, Dr. D. C. Mills, for aid and encouragement, to Curator W. C. Mills, of Columbus, for advice and aid in the field, to Mr. W. P. Lane, of New Lebanon, for assistance in the field, and to Mr. H. C. Shetrone, for preparation of the photographs for the cuts shown herewith.

For the many favors shown us in the field, I am indebted to the following persons: Mr. Joseph Ulrich, Mr. Adam Gilbert, Mr. Arthur Bauman, Mr. Hugh Ulrich, and Mr. Walter Worrel, all of Farmersville, Ohio.

SOME NOTES ON OHIO HISTORIOGRAPHY.[1]

BY CLARENCE E. CARTER, MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

The rise of historiography in the trans-Alleghany states in the first half of the nineteenth century follows the order of development so familiar in every national experience, European as well as American, in which annalists, antiquarian compilers, and composers of didactic narrative successively emerge. This conventional order of succession is observable, moreover, in the American colonies and later in all the states. In the latter, indeed, particularly in the newer western states of the early national period, historical writing is strikingly similar to that of the Atlantic region in the colonial age. Little, if any, improvement is noted, in either content or technique, in these types of composition. In fact, historical writing in general, during the early national era, reveals but slight advance over that of the previous age. The character of the wide hiatus which divided the colonial and revolutionary and the national periods suggests a probable explanation for this apparent retardation. The long period of stress from the opening of the revolutionary age to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century afforded small opportunity for the development of any field of literature. Moreover, the trend of thought was almost wholly political and theological. But in the western states this situation was further complicated by the preoccupation of most of the people in conquering their primitive environment, a fact which obviously affected the historical writing of the few who found time to attempt it. One detects little in these years of institutional beginnings that goes beyond the narrative and antiquarian stage. But following these years of growth along material lines, and somewhat after the middle of the century, we observe the gradual emergence in the states, though not quite so early as in

[1] The following paper appeared, in substance, in "The Ohio History Teachers' Journal" for November, 1916, and November, 1917.

the nation, of the writer of history in whom is found a keener discrimination as to sources, a more rational arrangement of materials, and a more decided deference as to the canons of historiography than is found in any writers of the earlier period.

Although this suggested classification is not wholly adequate—indeed it must in no sense be viewed as final—it will perhaps serve as a basis for comparison. A survey of the field of Ohio writers of history, whether they have written state, sectional, or national history, reveals the fact that they fall approximately into the groups suggested. No attempt will be made in this connection to catalogue all the writers of history produced in Ohio, but rather to characterize a few representative writers of the first group and of the transition to the second.

To the school of annalists and chroniclers certainly belongs James H. Perkins, author of the well-known and one-time popular book, *The Annals of the West,* probably the most typical of the sectional histories of the period. It appeared in 1846 and depicts the history of the West, in strict chronological style, from its earliest beginnings in the sixteenth century to 1845. The author's own words, in the preface of the original edition, give a clear indication of the character of the work: "An attempt has been made in this volume to present the outlines of Western History in a form easy of reference, and drawn from the best authorities."

Although the author refers to the work as an outline, it represents something more than that. It is based, as he points out, upon a large number of sources, most of which are of unquestioned authenticity. His numerous foot-note references are inserted in accordance with most of the canons of historical composition, and his bibliography of sources is surprisingly complete in view of the time in which he wrote. He cites one hundred and eighty-three titles, including such printed sources as *The Laws of Ohio, The Laws of Missouri, American State Papers, American Archives, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Land Laws of the United States, et cetera.* Contemporary writings, works of travel, memoirs, and narratives of various kinds are listed, as well as a fairly comprehensive list of what were then

the standard secondary authorities, including the widely read *History of the United States* by George Bancroft.

Perkins says further in his preface that "whenever it could be done, with a proper regard to conciseness, the words of eye-witnesses have been used in the accounts of important events." Thus he has quite rightly described one feature of his history. It is indeed almost a hodge-podge of narratives of captivity, descriptions of social life, long excerpts from letters, and extracts from speeches. To be sure, no reflection is to be cast upon the value of this sort of material, but it is obvious that such an ill-digested compilation destroys all perspective. Again, he informs the reader that "the limits of this volume have made it necessary to state most matters with great brevity, and, with the exception of the Indian wars in 1790-95, no subject has received a full development; upon that portion of our history the compiler dwelt longer than upon any other, because the conduct of the administration of Washington toward the aborigines is believed to be among the most honorable passages of American annals,"—an accurate characterization of the spirit of the book. He is quite as vociferous in his praise and in his condemnation as his contemporary historians, such as George Bancroft and Richard Hildreth, who were working in the larger field of national history. But despite these shortcomings the work stands out as one of the important contributions of the period—one which held high rank in its day, and which, despite its lack of perspective and its biased judgments, present-day students of western history cannot ignore.

The work of Jacob Burnet, whose *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory* appeared in 1847, belongs to this same general class, although it represents a somewhat different type of historical composition, covering a limited period, as is indicated by the title, and having been written by one who had an active part in the beginnings of the political life of the Northwest. The substance of the narrative had appeared some ten years before as a series of "Recollections" in the publications of the Ohio Historical Society. In explaining the circumstances under which the work was compiled the author observes, in a memorandum published in the larger work, that

he had been requested by a friend to commit to paper a biographical sketch of himself, "accompanied by a statement of such facts and incidents relating to the early settlement of the North-Western Territory, as were within his recollection, and might be worth preserving." His work thus takes on an auto-biographical character. But it is particularly free from anything that savors of self-laudation. It is not, however, free from error, and many of the canons of literary taste and historical composition are violated. Contrary to his avowal that "the work claims for itself nothing more of merit than belongs to a collection of authentic, detached, facts; set down with more regard to truth than to polish of style, or chronological arrangement", the author fails to detach himself from his strong Federalist bias. For this reason alone the book cannot be trusted without carefully checking it with the sources. Few references to sources are indeed made in the volume, the author depending, it seems evident in many cases, wholly upon his memory. Like most historical works of its class it is filled with much that is curious and out of place in historical composition. Yet despite its distorted vision, its violations of present day standards of good taste, and its rather frequent error of fact, Burnet's *Notes* remains one of the important works on the history of the Northwest Territory. Certainly it has, for the period covered, as great value as many of the so-called "Recollections" and similar compilations issued at the present day.

A third type of historical work in the first period is illustrated in Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio,* which may be mentioned in this connection not because of any intrinsic worth it ever possessed, but because it is the most conspicuous example of a type of historical endeavor at one time recognized as worth while and imitated on a large scale by local historians in this and other states. It is really a state gazetteer, and contains an outline of the history of the state from its settlement to approximately the time of publication in 1847. But the outline is very meagre and filled with error. By far the larger part of the volume is taken up by a journalistic description of the various counties of the state, giving such common facts concerning their history, topography, population, towns, and in-

dustries as usually appear in gazetteers. In the words of the editor, the work was "adapted to all ages, classes and tastes, and the unlearned reader, if he did not stop to peruse the volume, at least, in many instances could derive gratification from the pictorial representation of his native village,—of perhaps the very dwelling in which he first breathed and around which entwined early and cherished associations." This doubtless accounts for the wide popularity of a work which to the serious student of the present has little value.

It is a matter of some interest, if not of importance, that the work of Howe was in imitation of a work on the history of Connecticut by John W. Barber, which appeared in 1836. Howe and Barber together projected a similar history of each of the states, and the histories of several were actually published, among them being Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio. Howe himself had in view similar histories of states west of Ohio.

There were of course other writers in this first period, such as Samuel P. Hildreth, whose most important contribution was the *Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley,* which appeared in 1848, and Caleb Atwater and James W. Taylor, each of whom wrote a history of Ohio. These writers are perhaps of most merit; but they all belong to this same general classification, and what has been observed concerning the three described at length above will apply to all the others.

Ohio contributed more to historical literature in the two decades before the Civil War than any other western state. The reason for this is obvious. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century the frontier stage had been passed and there was then more leisure for historical and other composition. And it may be suggested that for the most part those writers of history whose residence in Ohio has identified them with the state, were of the emigrating generation, belonging by birth and education to New England or New Jersey. Historians who are native to Ohio do not appear until the emergence of the second period and the transition to it.

The American Civil War, which introduces this transition period, influenced profoundly the development of historical

science in the United States, just as it cut deeply into every other phase of American life. In the era preceding this significant social and political cataclysm America's mental outlook had been notably provincial, as is evident from the foregoing facts; albeit in its literary phases it was still tinged with European ideals. On the eve of the war the colonial point of view, on the whole, still prevailed, even though the nation had expanded until it was becoming imperial in extent; an expansion, however, which was rather provocative of the spirit of chauvinism. It was for the most part an unreal and an uncritical era. But the war shot through this atmosphere, and, in its ultimate effect, aided in transforming the old, narrow, provincial attitude. After the great problem of federal relations had been adjusted and the nation had become fairly consolidated, historical scholarship approached its subject with a detachment hitherto impossible. To be sure the change did not come at once. The active participants in the struggle could not, as a rule, envisage American development any more clearly than could those who had gone before. But the generation that followed, no longer occupied with the old problems to the same degree, sensed America's past in a more objective fashion.

Historical mindedness, moreover, as we now understand the term, received its greatest impetus from the natural sciences. The acceptance of the theory of evolution profoundly affected all the social sciences. Genetic reasoning, already brought into full significance by the natural sciences, became an indispensable element in historical investigation and composition. This was, of course, a tardy recognition on the part of the historians. The evolutionary idea influenced the other social sciences earlier, and even won partial acceptance in the field of imaginative literature in the form of realistic fiction. Although historical writers and investigators were almost inexplicably late in adopting the new point of view, historians of the present generation have, for the most part, appropriated the scientific method in so far as it is applicable to the subject matter.

This brief review, the details of which are commonplace to the historical profession, will serve as a background for a few observations on Ohio's historiography since the Civil War.

Although the school of historians represented by such writers as Perkins, Burnet, and Howe, who, as has been already noted, were familiar to the reading public in the decades before the Civil War, carries over to some extent into the subsequent period, and although the scientific point of view did not appreciably influence historical writing for many years, yet we do discover a significant widening of the historical outlook, illustrated by the inclusion of elements in our development which had not hitherto received synthetic treatment. One of the most conspicuous representatives of this widened outlook was Hinsdale, whose *Old Northwest* appeared in 1888. This work is too well known to justify an analysis of its content in this paper. It will suffice to record the judgment of the present generation upon what, in its day, was an achievement of considerable merit. It was a pioneer effort, in which we have a nearer approach to a comprehension of the significance of the West in relation to the whole United States than in anything hitherto published. In his preface the author asserts his purpose "To portray those features of this region that make it an historical unit—. But as the Northwest is intimately dependent upon the Atlantic Plain, a view of the Thirteen Colonies as Constituted by the Royal Charters has also been given. No previous writer has covered the ground, and the work is wholly new in conception." It was this characteristic that gave the work a distinctive individuality. And it held this relatively high place for some time, despite the unfortunate arrangement of its material. It is really a series of detached monographs having slight connection with each other. But this is not its most serious limitation. There are other defects sufficiently damaging to render the work dangerous for any except those who know something of historical criticism. The present discussion would run to a tedious length if it undertook to describe the body of error in detail. But it may be suggestive to indicate one or two types of inherent defects.

The work is based almost wholly upon secondary accounts, the reliance upon sources being restricted altogether to a few of the then well-known and long used collections, such as Sparks's *Works of Franklin*. This fact in itself represents a serious limi-

tation, which is augmented by the author's failure to consult even the available printed sources on both sides of a controversy, —a defect painfully illustrated in his discussion of the revolutionary period. He asserted that the royal proclamation of 1763 was drawn because the British government had determined to hinder the extension of the colonies on the west. According to his interpretation England abandoned her sea-to-sea claims and announced a decided change in her public land policy in the proclamation. His general view of the western problem, therefore, which is predicated upon the foregoing interpretation, must be of little worth.

A similar hasty generalization from one-sided investigation is furthermore observed in the description of the negotiations leading to the treaty of 1783, in which the story of Vergennes's alleged perfidy is detailed, much, of course, to the credit of Jay and Adams. The whole account of the negotiations is based chiefly upon Bancroft, Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence,* and Sparks's *Works of Franklin,*— a sufficient endorsement of its untrustworthiness.

Appearing contemporaneously with Hinsdale's *Old Northwest* was Rufus King's *Ohio,* a work which has gained its chief distinction as a volume in the American Commonwealth series, not in itself an enviable distinction. It is on a somewhat different plane from Hinsdale's effort, in that it purports to be a history of the state from the era of the mound-builders to the Civil War, inclusive. The greater portion of the volume, however, is devoted to the period prior to 1812, in which Indian intrigues and wars play the chief role. Not only is much of the narrative inaccurate, but many of the larger problems, such as the colonial period, and Ohio's relation to Congress in the territorial period, are misinterpreted. Moreover, for the era since the War of 1812, one will look in vain for a clear account of the political and economic development of the state. From the stylistic point of view, too, the history is rambling and verbose. There is manifest throughout the work a crudity of style as well as an inadequacy of treatment and an uncritical spirit. On the whole the book has less value than many of the historical narratives which appeared half a century earlier.

The time has come when works of this type can have little more than antiquarian interest.

In William Henry Smith's *Political History of Slavery*, which appeared in two volumes in 1903, we are confronted with a work of an entirely different character. It is more national in its scope, and although it comprises little material that is new, the chief events in the slavery controversy and the civil war period, from about 1850 through the reconstruction era, are passed in review with some skill. His suggestive summary of the contribution of the western states to the anti-slavery movement is especially significant. The work's chief blemish is its failure to present fully both sides of the issue, especially in the reconstruction period. Smith was an active participant in the events which he describes, and his attempt to justify the position of the Republican party in its every action is obviously a violation of an essential canon of historical exposition. He is not impartial, he is not judicial. The right is always on the side which he espoused as a participant. In view of this limitation in itself, the results of the author's efforts at an accurate portrayal of the period are clearly vitiated. Yet within these bounds the work is well done, and remains an excellent example of its type. It is readable,—much more so, indeed, than any that have been suggested in this series.

The task of evaluating historical writers of Ohio is perhaps incomplete without some further reference to the work of purely local historians, especially county and city historians. The writing of local history is indisputably difficult. It is too easy to fall into a commonplace narrative of neighborhood happenings, which acquire significance only when interpreted in the light of the larger whole. To be sure it is difficult sometimes to see what many bits of local happenings reveal in this scheme of larger development. It is therefore as essential that local history be written by the trained historian, who can sense perspective distances, as any other kind of history. That there has been, thus far, slight progress towards the accomplishment is, unfortunately, true.

Local histories fall into two categories: those produced as purely commercial ventures, designed to please the fancies of

local celebrities, and those written by sincere and sometimes fairly capable authors or compilers, whose interest and knowledge of the subject is often quite large. The former group we cannot condemn too severely. There are certain county histories in existence that were produced at the expense of mutilated newspaper files in libraries, the custodians of which had extended the usual courtesies. The compilers simply excised, with shears, items of local interest from the files, thus dispensing with the labor of copying or abstracting, the work of copying the newspaper columns being imposed upon the printers. Likewise a common practice has been to go through manuscript collections, in a cursory fashion, and to print, as the author's own language, that of the writer of the document, at times without even a judicious expurgation. But this is not true of all. One may, for example, look into Jeremiah Morrow's *History of Warren County,* Evan's *History of Scioto County,* or Steele's *Early Dayton,* and perhaps a few others, with the consciousness of works faithfully executed, though within the limitations, to be sure, so generally characteristic of local historians. If the limits of this paper permitted, moreover, one might suggest an exception to the unworthy and to the commonplace,—a city history which has not yet received its due recognition.

The library index and the numerous bibliographies will doubtless suggest other and more apt examples of the tendencies which have been thus noted; and it is not improbable that the experiences of the present writer may even have failed to discover other tendencies in this restricted historical field. A fair judgment may result in findings at variance with the foregoing. Yet it is the opinion of the writer that so far as those who have passed from the stage of activity are concerned, the view will be fairly unanimous that progress in the scientific writing of history has not kept pace with that in other fields of intellectual endeavor. Of the living it is not within the province of this discussion to attempt an estimate. It is sufficient to suggest that, with the emergency of the newer generations of students of history, the tendency towards scientific work is becoming more and more manifest.

ADDRESS AT MARIETTA, OHIO, 1858.[1]

BY HON. THOMAS EWING.

EDITED BY C. L. MARTZOLFF, ATHENS, OHIO.

Ladies and Gentlemen: —

We meet to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the first landing of our Pioneer Fathers on the shores of the Ohio, in the North Western Territory. An age—the full age allotted to men has elapsed since that hardy band of brave men and brave women, fresh from the war of the Revolution, a few of the boldest and most adventurous of the relics of that war, through fresh toils and yet untried dangers, came and planted themselves on this remote and then almost inaccessible shore.

We at this day can ill appreciate the trials and privations through which they passed. The world has since changed. Man has acquired dominion over the elements, the powers of nature, which he had not then attained. There is hardly any habitable spot on the earth now as difficult of access. You may reach the Red River of the North, ascend the Missouri, the Amazon, the La Plata, the Oregon, to their sources and plant yourselves at either foot of the Rocky Mountains or the Andes; pass to the farther Indies, to New Zealand or Australia more speedily; carry with you more of the necessaries of civilized life and reach the spot with less toil and danger than those daring and determined men encountered. They came aware of all they had to encounter, and prompt to meet it all. They came full of high hopes of a mighty future, Heaven directed, urged on by an impulse which looked for its result in generations to come; they comprehended their destiny, and they fulfilled it.

With an earnestness of purpose approaching enthusiasm, with an exaltation of feeling, proper to the great cause to which they devoted themselves, they blended the consideration,

[1]Published for the first time from the original manuscript. — EDITOR.

the caution, the adaptation of means to end, which was and is the characteristic of their race, they deliberated, they reflected, they weighed consequences good and evil—present and future—and they resolved. Songs full of sturdy love and wild adventure, which I heard sung in my childhood and snatches of which still linger in my memory, incited the young and ardent; while the mature and the wise looked with almost prophetic vision to the future destinies of the promised land. Mr. Webster once showed me a pamphlet (2), published (I think at Salem) in 1785; the object of which was to prepare the minds of the deliberate and thoughtful for the adventure. It contains a description, favorable but not overwrought of the country and its advantages, especially its future. And it speaks with a confidence, which amounts almost to a certainty, that steam would be applied to navigation, and that no portion of the earth would profit by the application so much as the country washed by our Western rivers. Mr. Webster said that those best informed gave the honor of its authorship to Doctor Manasseh Cutler. The pamphlet ought to be, and I trust it is, in the possession of some Western Historical Society. It ought to be, and perhaps is, in the possesion also of some of the descendants of its excellent and distinguished author.

Impelled by motives such as those on which I have touched, our Pioneer Fathers determined upon the adventure. The country was remote, the land wild and unexplored, but it was not for them or of them to enter as intruders upon land, not their own.

They purchased before they moved. They were not enamored of what in modern times is called squatter sovereignty, (3)—they loved the protection, and they loved also the restraints of law, and were not content to put themselves without its pale. They waited, therefore, for the ordinance of July 13, 1787. Clothed with the title to their future homes—protected and controlled by the ordinance, and armed with their own self-sustaining energies, they pressed forward to their destined goal. They met and they overcame all that opposed them. Wild nature and wilder man—and they planted themselves here—their journey was ended and they were here. Here under the stately

trees of the primeval forest, seventy years ago, they were assembled, consulting together of measures for their own present safety and of preparations for their future homes. But all these are of the past—all save one—the venerable man, (4) whom you have just risen to honor, have descended to the tomb; and they have left the land which their hardy virtue won, and which their labor improved and beautified to you, their descendants whom I see around me. It is a rich inheritance. And it was a noble band of men who bequeathed it. From the origin to the decline within the whole life allotted to a nation, but one such product of men is allowed. Physically, morally, mentally, but one—and they are never strictly reproduced. Other and many high qualities their descendants possess—but the state of the country, the social condition, the various surroundings of life, have forbidden to spring up into strong and full development, as the characteristic of a whole people, the sturdy and hardy virtues of the Pioneer Fathers. Theirs too was an exalted destiny worthy of the men.

It was the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio on which they entered and into which they led the immigration of our race. It was a wide and a goodly land and it came into the possession of civilized man under happy auspices.

Their movement though silent and unnoticed was worthy of record in the annals of the world. The territory on which they entered equals in area England and France and Belgium, and it is equal to all these in capability of administering to the wants of man. Those countries are overpeopled. May it be long before ours holds the human multitude which swarms upon *them*—but, without trenching upon the comforts of life, the natural capacities of the country will sustain a population greater than that of any sovereignty in Europe, Russia (5) alone excepted—and in the natural course of events, another seventy years will give it such population with all its good and evil—its power—its wealth—its refinement and its crime.

Providence brings forth his great results in silence. Seventy years have elapsed and we look with wonder at the aggregate of change which has passed by almost unnoticed. The population of the Territory which began seventy years ago with one

little band of Pioneer emigrants, has in one age risen to seven millions. Nothing in our past history is involved in mist or twilight—it is all distinct before us and we have reached a standpoint from which we can see the future, in its leading features almost as clearly and certainly as the past. As we know that on the soil of our Territory there are now seven millions of inhabitants with all the appliances and comforts of civilized life, we also know with almost equal certainty that in another seventy years there will be fifty millions, (6) with the due and wonted increase in refinement and wealth and power and learning.

The mighty contemporaneous movements of peoples and nations which agitated the world and which make up the history of the age—the French revolution which overthrew throne and altar—which destroyed the organization social and political of the first of European nations and deluged its soil with blood has passed by and vanished like a dream. It has changed a dynasty but left no other trace in France. The volcano burst forth and spread desolation through Europe, hurled kings from their thrones and made soldiers kings, but it has passed by and Europe is essentially what it was before the campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte,— France as she was an hundred years before the Cossacks entered Paris. A change has no doubt taken place, but few can mark, and none define it. France still remains with her nationality—her chivalry—her pride—her love for glory—she is closed in by the same boundaries and governed by the same laws; socially and morally she is the same; still France in full and perfect identity. (7)

Europe, the same community of mighty nations as before she was overwhelmed by the revolutionary torrent. The ancient landmarks of her kingdoms which had been swept away were restored by the Treaty of Paris. She has increased in population and wealth during an interval of peace, but is now essentially the same as before the Tornado swept over and wasted her. The events of the age which were called great—those which crowd full the records of history have passed and left but a trace. (8)

How different in its character and consequences, the event which we have met to celebrate. Seventy years ago forty-eight

men landed on this spot and commenced the settlement of the North Western Territory. The world knew them not—marked them not—contemporaneous history passes them by in silence, yet they laid the foundation and fixed the destiny of more than a mighty Empire. They were of the people who gave birth to the ordinance of 1787.

The men who negotiated the purchase and who set on foot and moved forward emigration, devised and carried through the ordinance for the government of the colony which they planted —it was emphatically the ordinance of our pioneer fathers—they were its material embodiment—they came with it here, and they planted and fixed here forever, in form and substance, the principle of political and personal liberty which it secures. The country was destined to be peopled—to be rich and populous for nature framed it to be the desired habitation of man—but by whom and under what laws—political—moral and social was determined by *them* under this their organic law.

They came here under law—for they desired its protection and did not reject its restraints. Squatter sovereignty had in that age and among that people no being, it is an imposthume in the body politic which has grown out of long years of prosperity and peace. They came not under the Constitution of the United States, for it had not yet received its authority by adoption, but under their own special constitution, the Ordinance of 1787, and the Pioneers were not in haste to be lawgivers. For more than eleven years—until the population of the Territory rose to 5,000 souls, the governor and judges adopted laws from the several states for their government and protection. (9)

Thus a regular system of government was established and law and order and social quiet at once prevailed—crimes were few and breaches of the peace rare. We had indeed at once from its first foundation a well organized and a well governed community. But modern statesmen have discovered that a vital error subversive of popular rights was committed in the formation of the ordinance. (10)

The Territory lay on the borders of free and of slave states, and according to them the advocates of Freedom and of Slavery ought to have been permitted to meet upon it and fight for

mastery, and especially the first forty-eight men who found themselves together in the Territory should have been permitted to form themselves into a Legislative council and House of Delegates and enact laws for the government of future emigrants.

In 1854 these reformers carried out the teaching of their more matured wisdom in the act for the organization of the Territory of Kansas. (11) That was intended to restore the injured people to their primitive rights and from the ample experience we have had of its effects we are able to compare the practical wisdom of the present age with that of the past.

In a new and remote territory, it must be expected that unless the people are a law unto themselves, the laws will operate feebly or not at all. Hence it was once thought important to remove from controversy every political and social question on which the community would tend to divide into great and organized parties. The question of slavery might threaten such division. It was therefore settled by the organic law of the New Territory and emigration thereupon adapted and conformed itself to the law.

It was pronounced as by the fiat of Omnipotence that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory except for the punishment of crime. And all men from whatsoever country or state they might come, yielded at once to the mandate. *That* was no subject of strife among the people of the Territory northwest of the River Ohio—the question there was from the first and forever at rest. In the Southern Territory of Mississippi it was at once also decreed that Slavery did and might exist—and the question was settled there also.

One would be inclined to think that the admirable working of the system thus early adopted and so long tried with success, would have recommended its continuance. But the rights of Squatter Sovereignty which have been recently discovered and explained were ignored and therefore violated by that ordinance; they required vindication and the Kansas-Nebraska Act was therefore passed and those rights were vindicated. In sober truth, that act was a proclamation to the two sections of the Union—then as now unhappily divided, saying to them, in language as plain as laws can speak, "Go and fight for the mastery

in that Territory. It is a desirable Territory, from its situation each section of the Union may claim it. Go and fight for it. There are no laws there and will be none except such as you shall make for yourselves. The party that can use the rifle, the revolver and bowie knife the best, shall have it. You who can cheat most at the polls, who can best stuff the ballot boxes and most skillfully forge returns, and especially you who can with a strong hand drive off your adversaries and prevent them from casting their votes—you shall rule the land and fix its destiny. Murder, arson, violence, forgery, crime in none of its forms can be punished unless you see fit to punish it. Commit therefore boldly for an empire is the reward of manly daring."

Such was the mandate—such also the execution. In no nook or corner of a civilized country, since civilization first dawned, has there existed a more absolute anarchy, a more brutal degrading and terrific anarchy. There was no law, no protection of person or property. Drunken ruffians murdered in open day whomsoever they chose to treat as personal or political enemies, and exhibited their bleeding scalps in triumph. And men of standing and intellect were shot down in their own houses because they refused to submit to personal depredation and exile. I was in Leavenworth a year after these scenes had closed and saw the house well marked with shot in which Phillips, (12) a lawyer of eminence, was murdered because he refused to go into exile and would not submit to be tarred and feathered a second time. His offense was that he expressed opinions unfavorable to the establishment of slavery in the Territory. A spot was pointed out to me about two miles from Leavenworth where a ruffian by the name of Fugit (13) shot down and scalped a German boy of nineteen or twenty years of age, and afterwards displayed his trophy in the town, averring that it was the scalp of an abolitionist. He did it, of course, with impunity. It was one of the excesses into which those engaged in a great and holy cause sometimes fall and his apprehenshion and punishment would have weakened his party, which under the Kansas-Nebraska act was the Law and Order party of the day. I heard the number of murders during these troubled times estimated at one thousand—of course not all on

one side, for after the first few months, retaliation was as bloody and cruel as aggression—the passions of violent men were excited to ferocity and they wreaked themselves on each other.

Such was the practical illustration—the working out of the theory of Squatter Sovereignty—and when at last, with all its appliances it failed, as fail it did and fail it must, United States troops were called out, to compel self government at the point of the bayonet.

On the contrary, the leading characteristics of all the territories and all the states successively formed out of the great North Western Territory to which the ordinance of 1787 applied, from their earliest organization down to the present time have been reverence for and obedience to law and a love of social order. The wild passions of men were restrained from the first by actual government. No ruffian band was suffered to take possession of the Territory and curse it with unrighteous laws. On the contrary, wise and wholesome laws which all men approved, commanded respect and reverence, and order was secured by their certain and faithful execution, all its successive organizations were from the first settled communities, as regularly and completely so as if they had existed a thousand years; and with this great advantage, that then there were no large masses of men, in crowded cities where the very multitude prevents detection and forms a cover for crime. In these new communities individual man, the humble as well as the exalted, stood out in relief. All men were known and the acts of all could be traced. There were no crowds in which the hunted criminal could hide and elude pursuit. In these causes were laid the foundations of our new communities. And it is hard to find on the face of the wide earth five independent states which have passed through an equal period of self government with more perfect political and social order, and with less of crime. In this point of view and to this extent, at least we may be proud of our most ancient organic law,—the Ordinance of 1787—proud that we have been reared under it and that we have contributed our mite to confirm and extend its influence.

But there is another point of view in which that ordinance

merits consideration. Under its provisions, there could be neither slavery or involuntary servitude within the limits of the Territory except for the punishment of crime.

I am not about to discuss the good or evil inherent in the institution of slavery. Many of those who have been reared under its influence, and are most familiar with its effects pronounce it a positive good and desire therefore to extend it. While most of those who look at it from without, consider it a moral and social evil, and are eager to rescue the slave holder and the slave from the curse to which they believe them subjected. With these opinions I have nothing to do at present, unless it be to express the belief that as propagandists, neither will be successful; that even philanthropists may be excused, after twenty-five years of earnest effort, if they give up all hope of reforming opinion, by denunciation on the one side or by menace on the other.

The effect however of this clause in the ordinance may be considered without trespassing even for a moment on this debatable ground.

It excluded slavery from the Territory. As a necessary consequence it required that all labor should be performed by freemen—men having social standing and political rights—it therefore made labor honorable within the Territory—whether it be so intrinsically is another question, debatable as it seems. It is held honorable by all on one side of the line because it is the vocation of freemen—degrading in the eyes of some on the other side because it is the task of slaves. Where this is wholly or principally the case, labor may be naturally enough looked upon as a badge of servitude. While with us we see all labor performed by freemen. When we know that it is not the command of a master, but the strong will of the man that gives to his muscles vigor and energy and action—when we see and know that intelligence and talent and sometimes genius guides his hand —when we see him by the aid of these seizing upon the mightiest physical powers of nature and subjecting them to his will, we grow up habitually in the opinion that labor is not only honorable but ennobling.

Therefore, we of the North Western Territory honor this

provision of the ordinance and think it has not humbled us in the scale of moral, mental and social being. Labor with us and among us is honorable, and men who live by labor have chosen to settle here rather than go into a state when it would degrade them—hence the difference in the progress of country and city on different sides of the line.

In 1800 the part of the North Western Territory which is now Ohio had 45,000 inhabitants; Kentucky, 220,000—nearly five to one. In 1850 Ohio exceeded her by a million. And taking this into view and considering the extent of territory, soil, climate and mineral wealth, it is fair to suppose that if the Ordinance of 1787 and the institution of slavery had changed sides, the present excess of population would have changed sides with it. If the Mississippi Territory now comprising the states of Alabama and Mississippi and which was set apart for the settlement of those holding slaves, had attained a population to the square mile equal to that of Ohio, the two states would now contain all the population of all the new slave states and territories in the Union.

From the facts before us then, these conclusions follow: that in the first planting of a colony it is safe and consistent with the largest rational liberty to give it laws, and that it should not be its own lawgiver until it acquired numbers sufficient to form a regular community. And that the restriction in the Ordinance of 1787, the fundamental law of the territory northwest of the river, was and is acceptable to the great majority of the emigrating people of the United States and the rest of the civilized world and has tended greatly to the prosperity and advancement of the territory over which it extended. And it has extended and is destined to extend far beyond the limits of the Northwest Territory. It has passed the Mississippi river; it has occupied the shores of the Pacific. And no human artifice or human power can prevent its progress until it shall have united and covered the intervening space along the corresponding parallels of Latitude. The rapidly increasing population of the northwestern states prove it. The late events in Kansas and its present condition prove it. And I rejoice that it is so, for I believe it to be the happier and better condition

of the human race. The state of Missouri is as a headland—a cape projecting northward far into the territory occupied by free labor. The tide that sets westward is spreading over it, and in the natural and necessary progress of events that will soon be added to the number of states in which there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except the punishment of crime. It requires no external effort—no care on our part, to produce the result. We have nothing to do but to leave the people of that state to their own counsel—it will be the state in the Union that shall first hereafter abolish slavery. St. Louis is actually free from its effects—free labor has taken full possession of it. I have walked the city for days without seeing a single colored man at work in the street or waiting in a hotel. And its growth has indicated it a free city—its bustle, its business, its commerce and manufactures mark it as such. It requires no vote testing the strength of parties to convince me of this.

But on this subject there is harsh and bitter feeling between the different sections of the Union. This is much to be deplored. Let us consider it for a moment—there is perhaps blame on both sides and let us pluck the beam from our own eyes before we seek to remove the mote from our brother's. If they, on the other side of the line, are happy in the institution of slavery, why should not we permit them to enjoy the cherished privilege? If we are content without it, they ought to pity and not be angry with us for wanting a just relish of the good things which they enjoy. But public opinion—enlightened public opinion—on different sides of the line is not very widely different. I have heard the opinion expressed by intelligent Southern men—themselves large slave-holders—that slavery is a "moral and social evil." Once I heard it expressed in the Senate of the United States, by a distinguished Virginia senator. About twenty-five years ago the subject was discussed in the Virginia House of Delegates, and opinions, to which I am quite ready to subscribe, were advanced and strongly urged by nearly half the members. They believed and still believe slavery to be an evil—an evil not created or committed by them, but inflicted upon them. And is not this true! We all are

aware that in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, (14) a clause from the pen of Mr. Jefferson, afterwards stricken out, denounced the British government for having forced slavery upon the Colonies. And the charge was just. When the introduction of slaves was permitted and the trade encouraged by the government; when labor was wanted and slaves were sold cheap; ten men who chose to stock their tobacco plantations with slaves—could fasten the institution upon the Colony against the will of an hundred who might oppose it. Slaves were then introduced into the Colonies by the art and under the encouragement and countenance of the Mother Country without reference to the will of the Colonies. And the great mass of thinking men in Virginia now look upon Slavery as Mr. Jefferson looked upon it.

Such is not the universal opinion and perhaps not now the general feeling for in the exacerbation of sectional and political strife opinions change — and sometimes feeling gets the ascendency over opinion, assumes its name and usurps its place.

But why, we exclaim, why do they not rid themselves of the evil? Put the curse far from them? Are they not responsible for it, because they retain it? These are propositions on which I have thought much — and allow me to say, in all sincerity and candor, they are questions which I feel myself incompetent to answer. It were no light thing to change at once, suddenly and violently the social condition of a great community — there are few among the sturdiest advocates of personal liberty, that would if they had the power and responsibilities of Legislators abolish at once Slavery in Virginia, for example, and set all the slaves instantly free. If any one would do it, it must be in ignorance of its necessary consequences; or he would do it as an avenger, not as a Legislator.

Gradual emancipation — prospective and gradual, such as was proposed in 1832, is all that remains. Policy doubtless dictates it. It is for the interest of Virginia and the other border States that it should be adopted; but would it subserve the cause of humanity? Of this I entertain doubt. Indeed my opinion is that it would not. It would at once reduce the value of Slaves in the States where prospective emancipation was

adopted, and cause their transportation to the sugar and cotton fields of the South, where they would be harder worked and less cared for. The border States would be freed from the evil; but the condition of their slaves would be changed, harshing and sadly for the worse, their numbers would be reduced, but not by emancipation. This is the point of view in which emancipation presents itself to humane and considerate men of the South. Let us look at it from their standpoint, truthfully and honestly — and not even to ourselves, in our own thoughts, bear false witness against our neighbors. They are placed in their present social condition by no voluntary act of their own — for good or for evil it is their condition and wise and prudent men do not rush inconsiderately into great social change.

And we may I think safely and without the abandonment of any duty, forego our harangues on the general evils of Slavery. Our opinions are fixed and do not require to be made more strong — the evil will not invade *us*. And our most florid eloquence, with all accustomed rhetorical exaggeration, can do little elsewhere. Indeed families and States are alike in this — none of them are conciliated or improved by outside strictures on their domestic regulations. There has been to some extent a tendency among us to this annoying interference and it has produced evil and not good. All that we can rightfully and wisely do; all that we should desire to do is — when Slavery attempts to pass beyond its allotted bounds, to arrest its progress; to bid it, to make it, stop. The disparaging language — the denunciations and threats of Southern rhetoricians excite in me no serious emotions, no feeling of anger, or resentment. The Southern Senator who told us of the white slaves of the North and compared them and their condition rather unfavorably, with that of the black slaves, who cultivate the rice fields, on the Ashley and Cooper river flats, simply struck me as no very profound philosopher and as a man of no extensive or exact observation. Perhaps the remarks were intended to be insulting but from their extreme inaptitude, he failed to make them so.

Another Senator of some distinction spoke of "crushing out" the miserable faction opposed to the extension of Slavery

into Kansas. This is horrible, especially when we consider the number of human beings, not less than Eighteen millions, which make up this faction.

The Indians when they exterminate a neighboring tribe call it "wiping them out." The Senator used a harsher term, and therefore I presume intended a harsher process. But I have heard nothing for ten days past on the subject and trust we are now safe. Indeed, I have no doubt he has given it up.

A few years ago we of the West were threatened with a terrible calamity from a like quarter. A popular meeting in a district of South Carolina which numbers full seven thousand whites and divers slaves, threatened to blockade the mouths of the Mississippi river and destroy its commerce, because somebody somewhere in the West had written or spoken something against Slavery. They did not execute the threat, because they were unwilling to involve the innocent with the guilty in one common calamity — perhaps because they became satisfied that the provocation did not justify such a wide spread and ruinous infliction.

Lately and I believe last of all a member of congress because of certain wrongs not very well defined, threatened to carry "fire and sword" into the Northern cities. On full reflection, I am satisfied he may well be indulged in this. He may carry his *sword* anywhere, if he only takes care not to trip himself with it — and as to *fire,* if he confines it to his segar, which I have no doubt he will, he may go with it also where he pleases, stopping short of Boston — but *there* he must be cautious, for if he smoke it in the streets of that city, he will be nabbed by a constable before he can walk a square.

But seriously, there is much wrong and much folly. Much injurious reproach and absurd outbursts of passion on either side, and we are not competent to determine where and with which, there is the most folly and the most wrong.

For myself, I think it idle and impotent and mischievous to say on our side that no future Slave State shall be admitted into the Union. The future belongs not to us! It is under the control of a higher Power and a more far seeing Wisdom. It is enough for us to act our part well — to stand firmly, in the

present, for what we feel to be the right, the good and the true; and leave the future to those who shall come after us and to the Providence which has watched over our Country and preserved it through many trials and which we may well hope will hereafter guide and direct us. And in my sober judgment, it is unwise for those who wish the continuance of Slavery to extend it, if in their power, over the new Territory. In the border States from Delaware to Missouri inclusive less than one-fifth of the whole population are slaves. This number is quite insufficient to perform the necessary labor of a community; there must therefore be *free* blended with slave labor, in all these states, or free labor must take possession of them, or portions of them, and Slavery cease to exist. This is one of the events which is coming and must inevitably come in the course of time and the spreading out more thinly the Slave population, over an enlarged Territory would but hasten its consummation.

It is all however but a question of time — the change is inevitable and now in rapid progress. The Slave population on the whole extent of the border is moving southward and free laborers are taking their place. Take for example a broad belt of Virginia beginning on the Ohio River and running southeast to the Chesapeake Bay. The proportion of Slaves will begin at a little less than one in forty and end at about one in three. The middle region including the Shenandoah Valley having about one in nine. The very small number of slaves to be found in Missouri especially in the Northern portion of the State, shows that Slavery cannot go into new and wholesome regions along with free labor much less make its way where free labor has already entered and begun to make progress.

It is very vain then to hope or to fear that Slavery will extend itself in the United States. It is impossible that it should unless the Slave trade be opened and carried on with such activity as to equal and counterbalance European emigration. This the civilization of the age forbids. North and South, at home and abroad, all men, with most rare exceptions, raise their voices and their hands against such abomination. The thing is impossible, and so is Slavery extension in the United States. Indeed if undisturbed — if left to the operation of the causes

which in the nature of things act upon and control it, 'tis impossible it should long maintain itself within its present limits. We may therefore dismiss our fears of Slavery extension for they are groundless; we may also without omitting a duty, cease wholly to interfere with our neighbors on the other side of the line for our efforts to improve their social condition are vain — they have not indeed yet signified their assent to receive any one among us as their Lycurgus. What we have done for them thus far has been the offspring of zeal without knowledge and produced evil only. We may leave them then, to manage their own affairs in their own way. Under the inevitable law to which we find them subjected. Let us therefore look to ourselves.

Our Republic has peace — it has Union — May they long continue. There is no rival nation on our borders whose jealous enmity can for a moment disturb, or check our onward progress. We are advancing rapidly enough in power and wealth. We need not stimulate our youth in these to higher efforts and greater energy. Another seventy years will give to the United States more than two hundred millions of inhabitants. To our own North Western Territory fifty millions. Numbers sufficient to make one of the most powerful among those who will then be the mighty of the Earth. Numbers whose wants will inspire them to cultivate the Earth until its surface through the whole land shall bloom like an Eden — to build up mighty cities and make them the marts of wealth — to command the manufactures and the commerce of the world — leaving wealth and leisure and mind enough free to explore to their very depths in all their hidden recesses, the secrets of nature, the mysteries of matter and the deeper mysteries of mind.

In all that relates to these — to physical and intellectual development we need not fear that as a people, we shall fall short of the foremost, in the coming age, or of the highest hopes that may be formed of our progress. Even now we are forward, but not indeed foremost in the cultivation of intellect — but more and better than any other people, we bring the intellect to act upon physical nature and make that nature in all its elements subservient to our wants. But blended with these, and

to modify and control them, we require of the youth who are to be the future men of our Country a higher and more careful moral culture; an education of the soul and of the heart, which the advancing prevalence of crime among educated men shows to have been too much neglected or forgotten. We have if rightly directed, the elements of a great and happy and prosperous community. It tends rapidly to its point of culmination — the past age. The last seventy years has been an age of happy progress, and with the blessings of Providence, we may hope for our descendants whom we leave to possess the land many ages of like freedom and prosperity.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

(1) The Marietta Celebration of 1858, Seventh of April.

The seventieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of the West was celebrated yesterday. The day was favorable, and the attendance larger than was anticipated.

Hon. Thomas Ewing delivered the anniversary oration, in the Congregational church, to an overflowing house. The platform was crowded with grey-headed "pioneers." Among them was Mr. Amos Porter, the sole surviving member of the little band that landed here seventy years ago. He is now in his ninetieth year. He was introduced to the audience by Mr. A. T. Nye, the presiding officer, and the assemblage rose to do the old man honor. The most interesting and affecting spectacle of the whole day, was the cordial greetings of the Pioneers, on the stage. The old men grasped each other by the hands, with hearty and vociferous congratulations, as some old comrade was recognized.

Mr. Ewing, the orator of the day, was introduced to the audience in a very neat and appropriate speech by Hon. Joseph Baker. Mr. Ewing's speech was an able and eloquent production, worthy of the distinguished reputation of its honored author.

In the afternoon, a large company sat down to a sumptuous dinner, at the National House. Among the guests, we noticed Gen. Brown and Judge Brown, of Athens; Gen. Goddard, L. G. Converse, of Morgan County, the second born white child in Ohio; Mr. Bradford and Mr. Mayberry, of Parkersburg. Judge Hayward, Robert Warth and Phillip Cubbage, of Gallipolis, Judge Dickey, of the Ross and Highland district, James Dickey, one of our oldest settlers, formerly of Amestown; Amos Dunham, of Pomeroy; D. B. Linn, editor of the McConnelsville Enquirer, and C. A. McGraw, of the Herald.

At the close of the dinner, the following toasts were read:

1. The day we celebrate, April 7th, 1788.
2. The Orator of the Day.

3. The Ordinance of 1787 — The charter of freedom framed by the wisdom and patriotism of the founders of the Republic, and under which states have grown great and illustrious.

Response by Hon. C. B. Goddard, of Zanesville.

4. The Ohio Company — Formed for the purpose of securing lands and homes for the Pioneer settlers.

Response by Judge Hayward, of McConnelsville.

5. Gen. Rufus Putnam and the noble men who landed with him, April 7, 1788. — The state they founded will ever do them honor.

Responded to by Prof. E. B. Andrews, of Marietta College.

6. The last of the Pioneers, Mr. Amos Porter — In boyhood he heard the booming guns of Bunker Hill — in his venerable age he hears the voice of a mighty Empire where 70 years ago all was a wilderness.

Responded to by G. M. Woodbridge, Esq.

7. Virginia, — whose patriotic counsels in 1784 gave up her claim to the N. W. Territory, and made it the heritage of the whole country.

8. Education of the people by Common School and College, — recognized by the founders of the Territory in the Ohio University, and free schools in every township.

Responded to by Hon. A. G. Brown, of Athens.

9. The Pioneer Clergy of the Northwest.

Response by Pres. Andrews, of Marietta College.

The reunion at Odd Fellows' Hall was a rich treat to the old veterans. Their eyes will never look upon the like again. In the evening Hon. Wm. Woodbridge, of Michigan, was expected to be present and deliver an address; but owing to sickness he could not be with us. He sent an exceedingly interesting address, portions of which were read by Mr. T. C. H. Smith. Letters from various distinguished persons were also read, which will be found in our columns today.

The old Pioneers who were present gave interesting and entertaining reminiscences of the days of "Auld Lang Syne."

A select choir, during the intervals between speeches, etc., sang some of those rare old songs, with fine effect. — *Marietta Intelligencer*, Thursday evening, April 8, 1858.

The Congregational Church referred to is the famous "Two Horn" Church, which for years had the distinction of being the oldest building in Ohio constructed for religious purposes. It was destroyed by fire several years since and a new modern brick "Two Horn" edifice erected in its place.

(2.) Dr. Cutler published a pamphlet after his visit to New York in 1787, designed to give information about the West. Mr. Ewing remembered correctly that Dr. Cutler foretells the use of steamboats on western waters. Rumsey's plan for applying steam power to boats was then attracting considerable attention, although twenty years would elapse before Fulton made his successful trip with the Clermont on the Hudson. But the date (1785) given by Mr. Ewing is incorrect, for a very

obvious reason. —*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society's Publications,* Vol. I, p. 27.

ADDITIONAL.

The book bore the title, "A Description of the Soil, Productions, etc., of that Portion of the United States Situated Between Pennsylvania and the Rivers Ohio and Scioto and Lake Erie."

It was published in both English and French, the latter being a translation. It was written by Dr. Cutler but his name did not appear as its author. The pamphlet is characterized for its extravagant statements regarding the Northwest and its possibilities. It appears in its entirety with appended foot-notes in Volume III. of the Society's "Publications."

(3) Mr. Ewing here takes a shot at "Squatter Sovereignty" which had for several years at that time been engaging the attention of the people. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, enacted in 1854, was the embodiment of this theory of "Home Rule" instituted in the interest of so-called democracy. The struggle in Kansas, by the pro and anti-slavery adherents, was the direct result of the enactment into law of the famous Douglas doctrine. Mr. Ewing had opportunity to know a great deal about the effects of this law as his son, Gen. Thomas Ewing, had been in the midst of the struggle in Kansas.

(4) This was Mr. Amos Porter, as stated in Note 1.

(5) Even Russia could not be excepted now. The population of the United States approximates two-thirds that of Russia, while the density of population is only about half that of the realm of the Czar.

(6) The population of the Northwest Territory in 1910, fifty-two years after Mr. Ewing's address, was eighteen and a quarter millions. His prophecy will hardly be realized.

(7) One looking at France in 1858 might be lead to make such statements as found in this paragraph. At that time the Second Republic had but recently been overthrown and Louis Napoleon was Emperor. The "change" which had taken place was only dormant. Though France was no longer a Republic, yet her Emperor dared not do what the Bourbon dynasty had done for years with wanton impunity.

(8) Few students of history could agree with the orator's statements in this paragraph. The Congress of Vienna which Mr. Ewing evidently refers to, did attempt to turn the hands of the clock back to where they had been before the Revolution. But they could never by any process cause the people to unlearn the lessons of Liberty and Equality which they had absorbed in those days. For a time, there was indeed a reaction, but the series of revolutions in the thirties and forties, from which emanated constitutional governments, was a direct heir of that earlier period. Perhaps to one who had observed it at close range, it was not so apparent as it is to us who can get the historic perspective of the events from the distance.

(9) In the governor was vested full authority. He was commander-in-chief of the militia and selected his subordinates excepting

the general officers. He laid out counties and townships and appointed their magistrates. With the judges, he jointly had the selection and enforcement of such criminal and civil laws as might be selected from the codes of other states.

(10) An ironical reference to Squatter Sovereignty.

(11) The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

(12) "A Vigilance Committee was appointed in the spring of 1855, having for its object 'to observe and report all such persons as shall, . . . by the expression of Abolition sentiments, produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens or danger to their domestic relations; and all such persons so offending shall be notified and made to leave the Territory.' On this committee were several members of the Legislature. The first person 'observed and reported' by the committee as acting so as to endanger 'their domestic relations' (by which delicate expression is meant the institution of slavery) was Mr. William Phillips, a lawyer residing in Leavenworth, whose offense was that he had sworn to a protest against the validity of the election in his district, in consequence of which protest Governor Reeder had ordered a new election. Mr. Phillips was 'notified' to leave the Territory. He refused to do so, whereupon he was seized by a party of Missouri men to the number of fourteen, taken across the river, and carried several miles into Missouri. (To Weston.) They then proceeded to shave one side of his head, next stripped off his clothes, and put him through the horrible ordeal of tarring and feathering. This being completed, they rode him on a rail for a mile and a half, and finally put him up at auction, a negro acting as auctioneer, and went through the mockery of selling him, not at the price of slaves, but for the sum of one dollar. Eight days after this outrage a public meeting was held, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"'That we heartily endorse the action of the committee of citizens that shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail and had sold by a negro, Wm. Phillips, the moral perjurer.'

"The meeting was presided over by Mr. Rees, a member of Council in the Kansas Legislature, and the resolution was offered by Mr. Payne, a judge, and also member of the House of Representatives. The outrage committed against Mr. Phillips was not, therefore, the hasty action of a few murderous ruffians, but one advisedly carried out and afterwards deliberately endorsed by a number of citizens and by members of both houses of the Legislature. Mr. Phillips returned to Leavenworth, but has since, according to accounts received in the autumn of 1856, been shot." —*Gladstone's History.*

The *Leavenworth Herald* devoted a column to the description of the tarring, feathering and riding on a rail of Wm. Phillips. The crime of Phillips was, that he protested against a fraudulent election. The *Herald* said:

"Our action in the whole affair is emphatically endorsed by the

Pro-Slavery party in this district. The joy, exultation and glorification produced by it in our community are unparalleled."

"On the first of September, 1856, Capt. Frederick Emory, a United States mail contractor, rendered himself conspicuous in Leavenworth, at the head of a band of ruffians, mostly from western Missouri. They entered houses, stores, and dwellings of Free-State people, and, in the name of 'law and order,' abused and robbed the occupants, and drove them out into the roads, irrespective of age, sex or condition. Under pretence of searching for arms, they approached the house of William Phillips, the lawyer who had previously been tarred and feathered and carried to Missouri. Phillips, supposing he was to be subjected to a similar outrage, resolved not to submit to the indignity, and stood upon his defence. In repelling the assaults of the mob, he killed two of them, when the others burst into the house, and poured a volley of balls into his body, killing him instantly in the presence of his wife and another lady. His brother, who was also present, had an arm badly broken with bullets, and was compelled to submit to an amputation. Fifty of the Free-State prisoners were then driven on board the Polar Star, bound for St. Louis. On the next day a hundred more were embarked by Emory and his men, on the steamboat Emma. During these proceedings, an election was held for mayor, and Wm. E. Murphy, since appointed Indian Agent by the President, was elected, 'without opposition.'"—*"Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas," by John H. Gihon.*

(13) Fugit was a drunken border ruffian who made a bet of a pair of boots in a Leavenworth saloon that he would take the scalp of some free-state man within two hours. He started out and about two miles west of Leavenworth met a Rev. Mr. Hoppe in the road, killed and scalped him. Nothing was done with Fugit.

(14) "That the passage concerning slavery should have been stricken out by Congress has often been regretted; but would it have been decent in this body to denounce the king for a crime in the guilt of which the colonies had shared? Mr. Jefferson wrote in his draft:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has

deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.'

"Surely the omission of this passage was not less right than wise. New England towns had been enriched by the commerce in slaves, and the Southern colonies had subsisted on the labor of slaves for a hundred years. The foolish king had committed errors enough; but it was not fair to hold so limited a person responsible for not being a century in advance of his age; nor was it ever in the power of any king to compel his subjects to be slave-owners. It was young Virginia that spoke in this paragraph—Wythe, Jefferson, Madison, and their young friends—not the public mind of America, which was destined to reach it, ninety years after, by the usual way of agony and blood."—*Parton's "Life of Jefferson."*

OHIO'S RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE WAR.*

MARTHA L. EDWARDS, LAKE ERIE COLLEGE

What have the churches of Ohio had to do with the war? The answer to this question must of necessity await investigation since the source material upon which final judgments are to be based cannot now be assembled. There is, however, evidence already at hand in the collections of the Historical Commission of Ohio which permits a tentative sketch of what the churches of the state have accomplished during the first year of the war, and it is from this incomplete record that the present study has been drawn. The sources which have proved most useful are the official reports, bulletins, pamphlets, and periodicals published by the various religious organizations. Information has also been gleaned from sermons and addresses, printed announcements, and programs of church services, while at certain doubtful points this information has been corroborated by verbal or written assurances from representative spokesmen of the several faiths.

As a preliminary step it may be well to determine at the outset what is meant by "the churches," and how many of these churches there are in Ohio. The term "church organization" as used by the Census Bureau of the United States applies to "any organization for religious worship which has a separate membership, whether called a church proper, congregation, meeting, society," or by any other designation. According to the preliminary census report for 1916, there were in that year over 200,000 such organizations in the United States with a total membership of more than 42,000,000, approximately two-fifths of the entire population of the United States. These numerous church organizations were grouped in 201 religious denominations varying in size from a single congregation to a church whose membership amounted to more than 15,000,000. About thirty-seven per cent of the total church membership in the

*This article was read before the Ohio Teachers' Association, November 15, 1918.

United States was reported by the Catholic church, about one-half of one per cent by Eastern Orthodox churches, less than one per cent by Jewish congregations, and the remaining sixty-one per cent by Protestant and other churches. The census statement, however, calls attention to the fact that these percentages overstate the relative strength of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches which count baptized children as members and underestimate that of the Jews who in orthodox congregations count only male incorporators and heads of families who have contributed financially to their support.

The numerical strength of religious denominations in the state of Ohio at the present time can not be accurately stated until the tabulation of the religious census of 1916 shall have been completed. The most recent statistics now available for individual states, therefore, are those of the religious census of 1906. In that year there were in Ohio nearly 10,000 church organizations whose combined membership included about two-fifths of the population of the state. The membership of the Catholic Church amounted to thirteen per cent of the total population, that of all Protestant churches was twenty-six per cent, while the membership of other denominations embraced about one per cent. The remaining sixty-one per cent of the population was not reported by any religious denomination. In actual numbers the largest membership was in the Catholic Church. The largest number of church organizations was reported by Methodist sects of which no less than eight were represented within the state. Next in regard to number of congregations came the United Brethren, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Disciples, and Catholics. Each of the Protestant denominations above-mentioned included several distinct religious groups. There were, for example, seven different kinds of Presbyterians, as many varieties of Baptists, twelve sects of Lutherans and nine branches of the Mennonite faith. In all, there were nearly one hundred religious denominations actively organized within the state.

The great diversity of religious elements in this country has been due in part to differences of creed and discipline, in part to racial grouping within the sect, the latter distinction

being indicated by the languages in which church services are conducted. In this respect the churches of Ohio are typical of the nation for in 1906 there were twenty-four different languages thus in use. Among the vernacular languages used in congregations and parochial schools in this state German was far in the lead. Accurate statistics for Ohio are not at present accessible but in the United States as a whole the religious census for 1906 reports seventy-seven denominations using the German language in congregations aggregating more than three and a half million members. While it is not likely that there had been any noticeable decline in the numbers of German congregations during the intervening decade, the census report of 1916 will undoubtedly record a considerable increase in the number employing one or another of the Slavic languages which may in some degree have acted as a counterpoise to the weight of German influence in religious organizations.

For a century and more it has been obvious that minute differentiation of creed or of race was a hindrance to the efficiency of religious activities in the United States. From time to time therefore, attempts have been made to consolidate sects which were not fundamentally antagonistic in creed. This process, however, has not yet been completed by any Protestant denomination. Presbyterian assemblies are still endeavoring to harmonize minor differences among ten Presbyterian organizations; Baptist sects are still distinct; nor can Methodist churches all agree. The most recent effort of Lutheran churches in this direction was brought to public attention through the presentation of an application to Congress by a Senator from Ohio for a charter of incorporation intended to amalgamate three of the twenty-one Lutheran sects in the United States. More significant than these sectarian movements was the organization of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 by representative leaders of thirty Protestant denominations. This Federal Council differs from earlier experiments in church union in more than one respect. The most striking feature of the plan is its distinctively federal character. Abandoning at the outset the futile attempt to harmonize conflicting creeds, the Federal Council limited its province to the recommendation of a course

of action. It has no authority to enforce decisions, and the autonomy of its constituent bodies in regard to creed, form of worship, or of church government is expressly guaranteed, the aim and purpose of the organization as stated in its constitution being "to promote a spirit of fellowship, service, and co-operation" among denominations which still remain distinct. Similar to the Federal Council in purpose and in plan are the local church federations of which there are at present seven in Ohio. In the course of time no doubt this number will be increased and local federations will be brought into closer co-operation through a State Federation of Churches upon the model of that already effected in the neighboring state of Indiana.

Such, in brief, was the religious situation in Ohio at the outbreak of the war: ten thousand separate congregations of one hundred or more religious faiths, differing in race, in language, in discipline, and in creed; some persistently clinging to the ideals of an earlier age and striving to perpetuate in the twentieth century the isolation which had once been needful for the preservation of their faith, while others had been unified through ecclesiastical organizations which greatly enhanced their corporate strength. Viewing the situation from the one aspect it would seem rash to infer the existence of a common religious spirit among such heterogeneous elements. Penetrating vision, however, reveals the fact that out of the mutual conflict of diverse creeds in the United States there has gradually emerged a common religious ideal which all denominations have tended to approximate, which has made co-operation possible and has given a distinctive character to the work of American churches during the war.

Religious emotion, already deeply stirred by the solemn appeal of the President's message, responded at once to the declaration of war. On the following Easter Sunday the flag took its place beside the cross in some of the most conservative churches of Ohio, there to remain until Easter peace should again prevail, and on Wednesday evening of Easter week at an hour set apart by the Governor of the State, congregations assembled for special services of prayer and supplication. Mean-

while expressions of loyal support were being conveyed to the President by ministers, bishops and rabbis from every section of the country on behalf of the religious organizations which they represented and in the course of time these assurances were duly confirmed by official utterances and by constructive plans for supporting the government during the continuance of war.

One form of war service which might naturally be expected of voluntary organizations in the United States the churches were peculiarly well fitted to perform. Religious thought in this country having ever been deeply impregnated with moral ideas, the moral issues involved in the European conflict had furnished a leading theme for sermons, addresses and religious discussions since 1914 and after the nation was irrevocably committed to the cause of civilization and humanity by the declaration of war, the churches became fully conscious of their high obligation. Religion and patriotism were still recognized as quite distinct, yet owing to the nature of the struggle, it was inevitable that they should be allied in a common cause. From the first moment, therefore, the churches directed their efforts to enlisting public opinion in whole-hearted support of the moral issues involved in the war. Within the churches the appeal to patriotism was made through prayers and sermons, through hymns and music, through insistent demands for personal service of every kind. Enthusiasm for the cause to which the flag within the church had been dedicated stimulated thus by religious devotion was raised to a higher pitch. Here and there it is true these innovations were viewed with deep misgiving as indicating too close an alliance between church and state. Others there were who openly protested that flags and patriotic addresses were manifestly out of place in the buildings set apart for religious worship. In many instances it is evident that these objections were thoroughly sincere, being in fact survivals of a point of view commonly held by churches in the United States and still adhered to by certain denominations. In other instances on the contrary, there seems little room to doubt that protest against the introduction of patriotic features into church services was used as camouflage to screen pro-German sentiments within the congregation.

As the war went on protests of this kind were less frequently urged and even in congregations where enthusiasm for the cause of the allies remained luke warm it was usually deemed expedient to adopt the customs of neighboring churches in order that the imputation of being un-American might thereby be avoided. In addition to the changes in church services, various other methods of stimulating war enthusiasm have been effectively used by the churches. Resolutions of congregations, associations, synods, and assemblies, pastoral letters read in the churches, and authoritative utterances in the religious periodical press have exerted an incalculable influence in turning the balance of wavering opinion.

A far more difficult aspect of this same task called forth equally prompt and persistent effort on the part of the churches. At the outbreak of the war all voluntary organizations were confronted with the problem of maintaining loyalty within their own ranks, and churches as well as clubs and associations were frequently in danger of being misrepresented by individual expressions which in no wise reflected corporate opinion. In many Protestant churches both liberal and evangelical the pacifist idea long persisted and if too greatly stressed after this country entered the war might easily assume a negative aspect of disloyalty. Ministers who adhered to pacifist theories and who cherished the hope of peaceful settlement after the declaration of war were apt therefore to give an impression which a majority of the congregation might actively resent. An incident which occurred in Cincinnati may serve as an illustration of the tendency for pacifist preaching to disappear whenever the incompatibility between pacifism and patriotism became sufficiently clear. Becoming impatient with the pacifist sermons of their pastor the congregation of the Unitarian church in that city formally demanded his resignation. In order to establish beyond all question the patriotic attitude of the congregation, the resolutions adopted at the congregational meeting were given the fullest publicity and the participation of its members in war activities was urgently recommended. In congregations where sentiment had not been unequivocally defined and especially in German churches, the removal of pastors was sometimes

hastened by the action of the community. Summary procedure was the usual resort. In Coshocton, in Henry County, and in other parts of the state, German pastors who had been tarred and feathered by their neighbors were afterwards formally dismissed by the vote of the congregations. Not infrequently, however, these mob attacks were misdirected. In Huron, Ohio, for example, the resignation offered by the pastor was not accepted, because after full investigation the congregation became convinced that the charges made against him could not be sustained.

Similar complications arose in educational institutions under sectarian control. Perhaps the most conspicuous incident of the kind occurring in Ohio, certainly the one which was given the widest publicity, was the removal of the president of Baldwin-Wallace College after a thorough investigation conducted by a special committee of Methodist bishops. The decisive action of this committee was intended to serve a two-fold purpose; on the one hand, it was a warning to those in charge of similar institutions, while on the other, it might be construed as a guarantee of patriotism on the part of the Methodist Church. In general, religious organizations have been held responsible by public opinion for the suppression of enemy propaganda in educational institutions under their control and only in cases where ecclesiastical authorities have been slow to act has it been imperative for the federal government to intervene. As might naturally be expected evidences of disaffection were most frequently found in parochial schools giving instruction in the German language. Teachers in some of these institutions therefore have remained under the close surveillance of the federal authorities throughout the war while others have been forced to relinquish their positions when investigation by the Department of Justice disclosed their attitude and intent. From the data at hand at the present moment it is difficult to estimate the measure of success attained by the various denominations in eliminating enemy propaganda from parochial schools. Owing to the diversity of racial elements in the Catholic churches in Ohio the task has borne heavily upon administrative officials of that denomination. Complete success, therefore, should not be expected

until the comprehensive plans for the Americanization of parochial schools now being formulated shall have been put into effect.

Religious organizations were likewise expected to prevent the spread of enemy propaganda through the medium of the religious periodical press. Here again the Methodist church took prompt and decisive action. The editor of the most influential German Methodist publication in Ohio was warned at the outset that articles showing a tendency to favor the German cause must cease to appear. After the outbreak at Baldwin-Wallace college had revealed the extent of propagandist effort in German Methodist churches, the situation was again reviewed and it was then decided that the two German Methodist publications authorized by the Book Committee should be consolidated under the charge of an editor whose patriotism could not be questioned and that henceforth no other periodicals should be published in the German language. In the interest of Americanization, the complete elimination of German language publications was to be postponed until after the war. Lutheran, Evangelical, and Catholic periodicals whether published in German or merely expressing the views of German churches were also called to the bar of public opinion. The procedure was the same as in the case of teachers or preachers; whenever ecclesiastical authorities were slow to act the federal government took the situation in hand. A well known instance of federal action was the withdrawal of cheap mailing privileges from the Catholic paper, the *Josephinum Weekly,* published in Columbus, in April, 1918.

The gradual elimination of the German language in church services is another evidence that the churches of Ohio are pledging allegiance to the cause of the United States. While at times this action has been brought about by the coercion of public opinion the formal resolutions adopted by some of these German congregations prove beyond doubt that the desire to emphasize Americanism above all else was the dominant motive in these particular instances. The religious sect which has been most persistent in its opposition to federal and state authorities in Ohio is the Mennonite church. Since the Mennonite doctrines do not admit the existence of any lawful connection between

the government and those who hold the Mennonite faith, members of the stricter sects have steadfastly refused to serve under the military arm either combatant or non-combatant and it was not until the late summer of 1918 that the Governor of Ohio was able to announce that no more conscientious objectors were to be found in the state. Thereafter the federal agents who had brought about a change of view among the Mennonite farmers in Holmes county were free to turn their attention to the activities of the Mennonites in Indiana where deacons, ministers, and bishops of the church were cited to appear. In other churches, doubt and disloyalty have tended to disappear as the issues of the war have been made plain. That so radical a change of view could have been brought about in conservative German congregations with comparatively little disturbance is due in no slight degree to the vigilance of national and local religious organizations. Through unremitting efforts to purge their own ranks of enemy propaganda, the churches of Ohio have rendered invaluable assistance to local defense leagues and have thus materially lightened the labors of the federal department of justice.

The influence of the churches upon public opinion during the first year of the war moreover, has extended far beyond the limits of their own congregations. In accordance with the custom which has always prevailed in the United States, ministers, rabbis, bishops, and priests have taken a leading part in public meetings, in patriotic demonstrations, and in the activities of local and national committees. Through government bulletins prepared especially for the churches and through confidential communications transmitted through executives of their own organizations they have been kept in touch with the government program. They have proved effective Four-Minute speakers at public gatherings and in some places have delivered four-minute addresses to their own congregations. In anticipation of the depressing effect which might be produced by heavy casualty lists, two especial tasks were assigned to the churches in the late summer of 1918. On the one hand they were asked to assist in creating a public sentiment toward cripples in order that government plans for re-education might receive hearty

support, and more especially were they expected to afford both spiritual and material comfort to soldiers' families in distress. Both of these functions, it is true, would properly belong to the churches in any case yet they acquired a deeper significance from the fact that the churches were consciously serving the nation to further a cause which had blended patriotism, humanitarianism and religion into one impelling emotion.

In general war activities, the churches have also borne their part. Among those who were called to Washington at the request of the Food Administrator during the summer of 1917 when plans were first under discussion was a group of ministers from all sections of the United States and representing many shades of religious opinion. To them an appeal was made by the Food Administrator in person and to them the aim of the food campaign was clearly defined. In the spring of 1918 when the needs of the allies had become more imperative a circular letter from the Food Administrator was addressed to the ministers and churches in the United States, and at the same time local food administrators were advised to get into immediate touch with all churches in their respective districts. In pursuance of this suggestion, a mailing list of several thousand ministers was placed on file in the central office of the Food Administration in Ohio and through the bulletins regularly sent to these ministers the churches have been called upon to sustain the food administration throughout the state. Religious organizations have also had a share both directly and indirectly in Liberty Loan campaigns, in Red Cross drives, and in raising funds for the numerous social agencies engaged in war relief. Various methods have been employed. Subscription lists have been circulated, collections have been solicited, and at times a double purpose has been served by investing funds donated to religious organizations in Liberty Loans or War Savings Stamps. The practical work of women's religious organizations and that of the children has reached amazing proportions. In helping to carry through these various campaigns and in rendering material aid to war relief agencies, the work of the churches has not been unlike that of clubs, lodges, or other voluntary associations. There can be no doubt however that at times religious

zeal has given an added stimulus and that by so much the total of these contributions has been thereby increased. How far the several religious denominations in the state of Ohio have been successful in rallying the rank and file of their membership in support of the government is a question which can not be determined until further sources of information become available, and even then the historian may experience some difficulty in evaluating the religious factor. The attitude of their spokesmen, however, has been unmistakable and in view of the facts the historian of today must frankly acknowledge that religion has been among the forces which have added power to the will of the Nation during the first year of the war. In rural communities especially the influence of the churches has made itself felt.

The phase of religious work which has made the strongest popular appeal is that of organizations having a social as well as a religious character. Contrary to the oft repeated assertion that the churches have been negligent of their social functions, there is abundant evidence to prove that religious organizations in the United States still retain their traditional leadership in movements for moral and social betterment. The activities of the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, and the Salvation Army have demonstrated beyond question their ability to deal with problems which can not be successfully met by purely social agencies. While these organizations derive their impulse from religious sources, they have not aspired to supplant the regularly ordained ministry of their respective churches. Their work is to be regarded rather as the concrete expression of a modern religious ideal which can not be made effective without the ministry and which without the Christian ministry would never have been evolved. The churches, therefore, while heartily supporting these organizations, have also endeavored in various ways to supplement their work.

The first care of the churches throughout the war has been to provide for the moral welfare of the men in service. Naturally the points of most imminent danger were the large communities in the neighborhood of camps and cantonments. The

work of the churches in these communities falls under three separate heads: first, the removal of temptation by the suppression of vice and the liquor traffic; second, providing entertainment and relaxation for soldiers on leave; and last, though by no means least, the purely religious service which is their essential function. In all three of these directions the churches of Ohio have been continuously active since the beginning of the war. To mention one conspicuous instance, the local Federation of Churches in Cincinnati not only took the initiative but has remained throughout the guiding power. Thus when it became evident that vice conditions in Cincinnati threatened to undermine both the health and the morale of soldiers stationed at Fort Thomas, a local committee including ministers and social workers undertook a thorough survey of vice conditions. The result of their investigation was promptly submitted to the War Department while at the same time the city authorities were advised to remedy the existing situation. As the restricted area in Cincinnati was being evacuated by the police, the Federation of Churches established relief stations in the neighborhood to provide temporary assistance for women who otherwise might become a greater menace to the soldiers upon the public streets. Entertainment for soldiers on leave has been furnished by church clubs, by social centers, and in the private homes of church members, while for those detained in camp special provision has been made by groups of volunteer entertainers. The religious aspect of the work done for the men in the service has intentionally been kept in the background by many of the churches out of respect for sectarian prejudices which might otherwise be offended, but as occasion offered the men have been welcomed in the churches, and the clergy have made great exertions to supply the religious needs of the camps until regular chaplains could be appointed. The hearty co-operation of the churches in every form of War Camp Community service has thus contributed in a considerable degree to the success of these endeavors.

Religious work at Camp Sherman was begun under the auspices of the Episcopal churches in Ohio. When the first five per cent quota of the draft reached the camp, the men were

greeted by a volunteer chaplain appointed by the Bishop in whose diocese Chillicothe is located, and for several weeks thereafter the only place religious service could be held was the little portable church which he had erected with the aid and consent of the construction department upon private property near the camp. When plans for a community center were developed and the need for a more commodious building became apparent, the sum of $20,000 was promptly raised by individual members of Episcopal churches in the state. Being the only building near the camp exclusively devoted to religious purposes, the church has been freely offered to camp pastors and chaplains, and for a time regular weekly services were conducted at different hours by Episcopalians, Lutherans and Jews. The subsequent development of religious work at Camp Sherman has followed the plans outlined by the War Department in consultation with representatives of the various religious organizations. A special member of the Commission on Training Camp Activities has kept a general oversight of all religious activities, the actual work being done by camp pastors appointed and maintained by their own denominations. In order to avoid the overcrowding and duplication which threatened to result if each denomination were permitted to carry on its independent work in every camp, the War Department issued an order in July, 1918, requiring camp pastors to leave the direction of religious work in the hands of regularly appointed army chaplains whenever a sufficient number of the latter could be provided. In order to supply this need, an act of Congress had increased the number of chaplains, and a training camp had already been established to give them physical and military preparation for their work. In September 1918, no less than eighteen different denominations were represented in the group of chaplains then in camp. A full discussion of the plan for organizing a Chaplains' Corps which has been worked out through the the co-operation of the War Department with religious organizations is beyond the scope of a paper dealing with churches of Ohio. Suffice it to note that appointments are made by the War Department upon recommendation from religious bodies in exact proportion to their membership as reported in

the religious census for 1916. Upon this basis the Catholic church nominates more than one-third of the chaplains in the army and navy, eight Protestant churches appoint two-fifths, while a little more than one fifth of the corps belong to other religious bodies.

The war work of the churches in Ohio can not be properly estimated apart from that of national organizations in which they are included. Some of these organizations in fact antedate the adoption of the constitution and their development throughout has been along national lines, for notwithstanding its diverse elements, religion in the United States must always be counted among the forces that have tended to break down barriers of state and section. At the outbreak of the war, therefore, the churches made haste to readjust their administrative machinery, with the expectation of rendering some form of service to the nation. The action of the Presbyterian church affords a typical illustration of the normal procedure. At the annual meeting of the General Assembly in May, 1917, a National Service Commission was appointed with full authority to place the resources of the Presbyterian church at the command of the Government of the United States. In accordance with their instructions the members of this commission sought an interview with the President in the course of which he frankly stated the conditions the government must necessarily impose upon religious agencies engaging in war work. The offers made by other denominations were accepted by the President upon exactly similar terms and during the course of the year each has concentrated its forces by appointing a commission to supervise its war work. Cooperation among the numerous sectarian organizations has been made effective through the General War-time Commission appointed by the Federal Council of Churches and intended to serve as a clearing house for the war time commissions of all denominations. This commission has so far been successful in minimizing the friction which might have resulted from lack of co-ordination. It has even succeeded in cooperating effectively with organizations which it does not represent such as, for example, the National Catholic War Council and the Jewish Welfare Board. It has taken the initiative in forming joint-

committees which have provided regular channels of communication between the government and local churches in the remotest sections of the United States.

The resources for carrying on religious work in connection with the war have been contributed through voluntary effort, the amounts varying in proportion to the numbers and wealth of the several denominations. The Catholic War Fund in the United States has reached the impressive sum of fifteen millions while a goodly number of smaller denominations have succeeded in passing the million mark. Each of these funds is administered by a special committee appointed by the Wartime Commission of the denomination and as a rule the ablest men in the churches have been asked to assume this task. It is a matter of interest to citizens of Ohio therefore that the Episcopal fund has been put in charge of a bishop from this state. The aggregate sum of religious contributions from Ohio will probably never be computed. Accurate accounts have not always been kept and there has been some overlapping and duplication. Contributions for religious work have been made at times by individuals who were not directly connected with any religious organization; donations from Jews and Protestants have gone to swell the Catholic fund; and Catholics have aided in the campaigns of other denominations. Yet the actual figures after all are of less import to the historian than the co-operative spirit which has prevailed, and of this religious records and periodicals afford abounding proof.

Co-operation then has been the keynote in the war work of American religious organizations. Yet though it has been accentuated by war conditions, this form of co-operation is by no means a creation of today. On the contrary, churches of various creeds were already working effectively with each other and with civic and social agencies in their respective communities before the war began, while churches adhering to the same faith and order had long since perfected their local, state, and national associations. Through pastoral or fraternal letters, through reports, pamphlets, and religious periodicals, the plans prepared by representatives of each denomination could be brought to the immediate attention of the remotest congregation. More-

over, the efficiency of religious agencies had been enhanced by the formation of interdenominational societies for cooperative effort in missionary enterprises and in the direction of social reform. Some of these religious organizations in fact had acquired an international importance through the establishment of foreign missions or as in the case of the Catholic church through their connection with a world-wide ecclesiastical system. The international significance of American Jewry had been intensified as American Jews assumed the leadership in promoting the interests of their co-religionists in other lands. Thus the machinery was already in existence for carrying on religious and social work upon a national or even upon an international scale. Not only was this true before the beginning of the war, but moreover, cooperation with the government in humanitarian and social endeavors had long been recognized as one of the essential functions of religious bodies in the United States.

In the larger program of war work which has been carried on by religious organizations in the United States the churches of Ohio have had an important part. The Protestant churches of the state have worked hand in hand with the federal government through denominational war commissions, through the Federal Council of Churches, through the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. In like manner Catholic churches in the four dioceses of Ohio have participated through the National Catholic War Council and the Knights of Columbus. The activities of Jewish congregations in this state are especially significant, because for the moment a Jewish synagogue in Cincinnati is the most active center of non-Zionist Judaism in the United States. Christian Scientists and the Salvation Army have likewise kept in touch with the government through organizations of national scope. The Friends in Ohio have aided the civilian population of France by furnishing workers and funds for the Friends Committee for Civilian Relief. Viewed in this larger perspective, therefore, the war work of religious organizations in Ohio is of national and even of international importance.

The rapid extension of the spheres of contact between religious organizations on the one hand and the federal government on the other resulting from this activity has already

aroused some apprehension in the minds of those who have observed it. Two danger points have been detected. The first is suggested by the warning conveyed to the Federal Council of Churches by one of its constituent bodies, that the Council should proceed with extreme caution in matters touching upon the relations between church and state. Attention was called to a more imminent danger by the Committee of Public Information when it became apparent that the churches of the United States were exposed to a most insidious form of enemy propaganda by the circulation of reports creating the impression that certain religious organizations were accorded preferential treatment by the government and that this was done for the express purpose of arousing sectarian strife in the United States. Thus far, however, the ogre of sectarian jealousy has not showed its head although there are some indications to be found in the religious press that profiteering in the form of religious proselytism has been found in the ranks of some few denominations. Certain it is that boastful statements concerning the work of a particular religious sect or equally boastful comment upon the number of converts brought into the fold while armies are in the field are not conducive to the obliteration of sectarian prejudices and unless promptly discountenanced by the saner elements in these denominations may in time threaten the harmonious relations which now prevail.

Reverting to the original question we may once more ask: What have the churches of Ohio had to do with the war? While awaiting the collection of records which will furnish conclusive evidence, this much at least must be said: the churches of Ohio have stimulated public opinion to an incalculable degree; they have successfully counteracted enemy propaganda within their own ranks; they have helped to sustain the morale of the men in service and of the civilian population upon which the army depends; they have contributed to the success of the various campaigns; they have aided the government in formulating and in administering constructive plans of social relief; in fine, the churches of Ohio joined with those of the nation in a league for service in order that the religious forces of the United States might be mobilized for war.

OHIO BATTLE FLAGS.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO PROVIDE FOR PLACING THE FLAGS IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE CAPITOL.

(House Bill No. 247.)

AN ACT

To provide for the display of the battle flags now in the possession of the state in the rotunda of the state house.

WHEREAS, There are now in the relic room of the state, the battle flags carried by the sons of Ohio from 1861 to 1865, which flags are the most precious possessions of the state, and

WHEREAS, Their present location is inconvenient and they are poorly displayed and they are not well protected from the ravages of time, and

WHEREAS, They should be placed in a more public place where their lessons of patriotism may be better impressed on the people of Ohio, therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. There is hereby appropriated from any funds now in the state treasury and not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed fifteen thousand dollars to be used for purchasing and installing hermetically sealed wall cases with glass fronts, around the rotunda and corridors of the state house, in which all the battle flags carried by Ohio soldiers during the Civil and Spanish American wars shall be displayed. Said cases shall be of architectural design to harmonize with the design of that part of the building in which the cases are to be located. Said cases shall be purchased and installed by a committee consisting of the governor, the auditor of state and the adjutant general. The flags shall be placed under the direction of the foregoing committee acting in conjunction with a committee of two veterans of the Civil War and one veteran of the Spanish American war to be appointed by the governor. Said funds shall be paid out

on a voucher issued by the auditor of state and approved by the governor.

CHARLES D. CONOVER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JOHN H. ARNOLD,
President of the Senate.
FRANK B. WILLIS,
Governor.

Passed May 15, 1915.
Approved May 18, 1915.

Filed in the office of the Secretary of the State at Columbus, Ohio, on the 19th day of May, A. D. 1915.

REPORT OF COMMISSION

STATE OF OHIO,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR.

COLUMBUS, JANUARY 1, 1917.

To the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the report of the Committee appointed under Section 15291-1 G. C. to provide for placing the Ohio Battle-Flags in the rotunda of the State Capitol.

The work this Committee has done in conjunction with the state officials designated by statute to cooperate with it, speaks for itself. It can not be otherwise than a matter of solemn pride to know that in Ohio these sacred emblems of the nation's life are better protected and more fittingly displayed than in any other state of the Union.

These battle-stained banners hallowed by the heroic sacrifice of Ohio's sons and consecrated in the tears of her daughters, utter in voiceless eloquence the message of patriotism and inspiration which every passer-by should hear in reverence with uncovered head.

So carefully did the Committee in charge of the work perform its duties that $1,099.00 of the amount appropriated remained unexpended.

There are 19 miscellaneous flags for which there is not room in the cases. I recommend that a small appropriation be made in addition to the $1,099.00 remaining from the former appropriation so as to make possible the purchase of another case to provide for the 19 miscellaneous flags, certain regimental flags now missing and others which will be turned over to the state for preservation in the future.

The report of the Committee, prepared by Col. W. L. Curry, contains historical matter of very great value. In order that this information may be preserved for future generations I suggest that the report be printed in full in the Journals of one or both Houses of the General Assembly.

FRANK B. WILLIS,
Governor.

BATTLE FLAGS OF OHIO,

IN ROTUNDA OF STATE HOUSE.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, December 27, 1916.

Governor FRANK B. WILLIS, *Executive Department, State House, Columbus, Ohio.*

SIR: The Committee appointed by you for the purpose of placing the Ohio battle flags in the rotunda of the State House have the honor to make the following report:

After the contract had been made for the bronze cases in which the flags were to be deposited, an invitation was sent out through the headquarters of the Grand Army of the Republic Department of Ohio, to all Posts of the G. A. R., to the Mexican War Veterans Association and Spanish-American War Veterans Camps to assemble at Columbus on the 27th day of April 1916,

to take part in the exercises for removal of the flags to the rotunda of the Capitol.

On that date thousands of veterans assembled at Columbus showing that the memory of the heroic days of all our wars kept warm in their hearts. The parade in charge of Col. B. L. Bargar, Marshal of the day, with an escort of several companies of the Ohio National Guard, the veterans were formed by regiments and paraded around the Capitol Square amid the applause of the thousands of assembled citizens. It had been arranged that the old tattered banners were to be carried in the parade by members of the regiments to which they belonged, but by reason of a drizzling rain that part of the program was dispensed with.

The flags were placed in the corridors along the stairways and in the halls of the Capitol building and were viewed by the great throngs from all parts of the State, and tears came to the eyes of many a grizzled veteran as he touched the old flag he had followed on many a field of battle, for the last time.

The Committee had prepared and distributed hundreds of beautiful badges as souvenirs with the inscription

BATTLE FLAGS
of
OHIO.

Mexican War
Civil War
Spanish War
Last Parade
April 27th, 1916.

After the parade a bountiful lunch was served in the basement of the Capitol building by the ladies of the W. R. C. and ladies of the Spanish War Auxiliary.

At one o'clock the throngs assembled at the west front of the Capitol where the ceremonies of the day concluded with the following program:

SPEAKING.

Introducing the Chairman of the Meeting — General J. Warren Keifer

Representing Department Commander G. A. R. — General B. W. Hough, Adjutant General of Ohio.

Invocation.....Rev. Thomas G. Wakefield, Chaplain, Wells Post No. 451, Columbus, Ohio.

Music.

Band.

Work of Committee.....Col. W. L. Curry, Chairman Committee for Removal and Casing of Flags in Rotunda.

Song.

Republican Glee Club — Star Spangled Banner.

Address.....Governor Frank B. Willis

Song.

Democratic Glee Club — Columbia, Gem of the Ocean.

Music by Veteran Drum Corps.

Address.....Ex-Governor James E. Campbell

Music.

Band.

The flags are all marked by bronze shields with the number of regiment and arm of service engraved, and shields securely attached to the flag staffs. The flags were removed from the relic room and placed in the cases by a detail of veterans each day as the cases were erected.

There are eleven cases and the total number of flags encased is 455.

Mexican War	4
Civil War	421
Spanish-American War	23
State and miscellaneous flags and markers	7
	455
Miscellaneous flags and markers not in cases	19
	474

A list of flags in the cases with number of regiment, battery or other organization, and arm of service is herewith attached.

There are 19 miscellaneous flags for which there is not room in the cases and a balance of $1,099 of the appropriation in the Treasury.

The Committee earnestly recommends that a sufficient amount be appropriated by the Legislature for the purpose of purchasing another case in which to deposit the remaining flags, and for a number of other flags of regiments missing which we are making an effort to locate.

The duties of the Committee appointed by you to carry out the provisions of the law now drawing to a close, we take this opportunity to thank you for the honor conferred by the appointment with assurance that we have gladly devoted our time to this patriotic work.

These battle flags were borne to victory by the soldiers of Ohio on many hard contested fields of battle and we herewith submit some interesting historical data relating to their services.

In the war with Mexico, 1846, 101,282 American soldiers were enlisted and the losses in killed and wounded were 5,294. Of this army Ohio furnished 5,536 soldiers who participated in the battles of Monterey, Palo Alto, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, Vera Cruz, Chapultepec, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey and other battle fields of that war, and the losses by death in Ohio organizations were 603.

While the losses were not great as compared with other wars, yet with this small loss in men and comparatively small financial expense, a vast territory was acquired and the mineral wealth of Nevada and Utah, the cotton fields of Texas and the gold mines of California, were opened up to the United States, 1,000,000 square miles sweeping from the Gulf to the Pacific Ocean, which their valor won, and from which a million people can now look out upon the Orient.

These veterans were the actors in a great world drama, two of whom, Col. John Conwell and Captain John A. Fisher, were present the day of the Parade, with well earned titles of service in two wars. Grizzled veterans with halting steps but hearts pulsing with patriotism as they go back in memory threescore and ten years when the regiments in which they served stormed the bristling forts of the Mexican army.

Of the 2,778,304 enlistments of soldiers who fought for the preservation of the Union during the Civil War, Ohio furnished 313,180 soldiers, and of that number 35,475 were killed or died of wounds or disease.

The 5th and 27th regiments of colored troops recruited in Ohio both have records for long and honorable service and losses by death in these two regiments were 430.

In addition to these two full regiments, a large number of colored soldiers were recruited in Ohio for the regular army. In all upward of 5,000 colored troops, were furnished by the State and all have records for bravery on the battle fields of the Civil War in which they can take a just pride.

OHIO IN THE NAVY DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

The roster of Ohio in the navy contains 5,400 names, of which 125 were officers of the regular service; 576 officers of the volunteer service; 375 firemen; 250 boys of the first, second and third class; 2,000 seamen; 830 ordinary seamen and 1,150 landsmen.

While the majority of the men, whose names are borne on this roster, served in the Mississippi Squadron, yet it is shown that some of them served on the Atlantic Seacoast on war vessels that participated in some of the great naval battles of the war. Some of them served under Commodore Foote at Ft. Henry and at Ft. Donelson on the Carondelet, the Louisville, Conestoga and other gunboats where the navy played such an important part in those sanguinary battles. Some of them were with grand old Farragut, when lashed to the mast of his flagship, he raged and fought with a valor not second to Paul Jones. These brave men of our navy are entitled to their full meed of praise awarded to other arms of the service.

SPANISH WAR.

Ohio furnished ten regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of artillery, one battalion colored troops, a detachment of Second U. S. Engineers; Volunteer U. S. Hospital Corps, U. S. Signal Corps and one battalion U. S. Volunteers immunes. The total enlistments in the volunteer service

was 15,354, with many others in the regular army, and the losses by death in the Volunteer Army was 453. Of our soldiers who attained high rank, General J. Warren Keifer, who had a long and distinguished service during the Civil War, was appointed a Major General and George A. Garretson a Brigadier General in the Spanish War. Many Ohio soldiers served in the Philippine Islands in U. S. Volunteers organizations that crushed the insurrection.

It matters not in what war our boys fought. They all fought under the same flag and are entitled to the same meed of praise and honor. The soldiers of the war with Spain were of the same blood as the soldiers of the Civil War and some of them were your sons. They had the example of your heroic deeds to inspire them, they were proud of your services and gloried in the victories you had won.

Could we look into the future with prophetic eye, we would see the heroes of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the soldiers of the Civil War, who saved the Union, and the young soldiers of the Spanish-American War, all crossing swords in the morning sunlight under the flag which has given us all the hope of the present and promise of the future.

During the Civil War Ohio furnished a larger number of distinguished generals than any other state in the Union. The total number of generals furnished by Ohio during the war was 227, divided by rank as follows: Major Generals 20; Brevet Major Generals 27; Brigadier Generals 30; Brevet Brigadier Generals 150.

In this number were some whose military fame was known and praised throughout the whole of the civilized world, and it may be well doubted if there was an officer of any of the European countries that stood as high as a military leader as did General Grant at the close of the War; and it is a fact and rather remarkable that the only officers that have ever attained the rank of general, excepting Washington, were Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, all Ohio soldiers. Grant was commissioned Lieutenant General, March 2, 1864, when he was promoted to general and was succeeded by William T. Sherman, who became a General in full March 4, 1869, upon Grant's election to the

presidency. Phillip H. Sheridan was promoted to Lieutenant General and held that rank until June 1, 1888, when he was promoted to full General. He died August 5, 1888. The act promoting Sheridan to the rank of General provided that the rank would end with the life of General Sheridan.

Under command of these great generals, the soldiers of Ohio in the Civil War fought on all of the great battle fields for the preservation of the Union from the firing of the first gun at Ft. Sumter to Appomattox. They were at Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Antietam, Vicksburg, Stone River, The Wilderness, Mission Ridge, Seven Pines, Lookout Mountain, Petersburg, and Nashville. The One Hundred Days under fire from Chattanooga to Atlanta, they marched with Sherman to the sea and some of them were at Appomattox when the last gun of the great war was fired.

TOTAL ENLISTMENTS AND LOSSES.

The number of Ohio soldiers serving in the three wars were 333,828, and adding those of service in the Navy in the Civil War a total of 339,228. There were hundreds of enlistments in the regular army of Ohio soldiers, in organizations of distinguished service of which the state has no record.

In the three wars 36,531 Ohio soldiers fell under these flags and every soldier who fell was both a hero and a martyr. The soldiers of America who have fallen while fighting in defense of these flags have left us a glorious heritage, a flag respected and honored, on land and sea by ever nation of the world. Then let us pledge anew our devotion to the flag handed down to us by the heroes of '76 and preserved by the soldiers of all our wars. Let the young men and boys of today swear eternal allegiance to the old flag handed down to them without a stain upon its folds.

We should always be glad to say of America, "This is my country; I am an American citizen," and we should look upon the Stars and Stripes as the dearest flag that floats and be ever ready to endure hardships, make sacrifices, and if need be, die for our country, for the noblest act of man is to love his country better than himself or kindred.

As the old veterans looked on these battle flags, April 27, 1916, torn with shot and shell, and blackened by the smoke of battle, what memories came to them crowding thick and fast of the days they were in camp, of the many weary nights they marched or when they were on the battle line. Proud memories of the days they marched away to the wild music of the war drums, cheered by the plaudits of patriotic citizens and sweet farewells of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters. Sad memories of comrades who came not back. Tender memories of comradeship and of the comrades who fell on the field, whose eyes looked for the last time on the folds of the flag for which he gave his young life. Proud memories of the final victories of our armies and the righteous cause for which they fought. Thankful and immortal memories and honors that will cling around these faded banners baptized with the blood of half a million patriotic soldiers. The flower of the army that saved the Union. Their tents pitched in the eternal bivouac beyond the stars, where they shall sleep forever in that silence that shall be broken, only by the reveille of life immortal.

These precious emblems are now transferred through you as Governor, to the care of the Government of the State of Ohio; folded with a benediction from the veterans of three wars to be guarded carefully until the last "tattoo" is beaten and the bugle shall sound "taps" and light out forever at the grave of the last surviving veteran.

BATTLE FLAGS IN ROTUNDA OF STATE HOUSE.

CIVIL WAR.

1st Regt., O. V. I.....	2	12th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
2nd Regt., O. V. I.....	3	13th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
3rd Regt., O. V. I.....	1	14th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3
4th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	15th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
5th Regt., O. V. V. I.....	3	16th Regt., O. V. I.....	3
6th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	17th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3
7th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	18th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
8th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	19th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
9th Regt., O. V. I.....	1	20th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
10th Regt., O. V. I.....	4	21st Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
11th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	22nd Regt., O. V. I.....	2

23rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	68th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
24th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	69th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3
25th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	70th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
26th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	71st Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
27th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	72nd Regt., O. V. V. I....	1
28th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	73rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
29th Regt., O. V. V. I....	1	74th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
30th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	75th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
31st Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	76th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3
32nd Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	77th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
33rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	78th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
34th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	79th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
35th Regt., O. V. I.....	1	80th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3
36th Retg., O. V. V. I....	3	81st Regt., O. V. V. I....	4
37th Regt., O. V. V. I....	1	82nd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2
38th Regt., O. V. V. I....	1	83rd Regt., O. V. I.....	2
39th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	84th Regt., O. V. I.....	1
40th Regt., O. V. I.....	3	85th Regt., O. V. I.....	1
41st Regt., O. V. V. I....	6	86th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
42nd Regt., O. V. I.....	2	87th Regt.	1
43rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	88th Regt., O. V. I.....	3
44th Regt., O. V. I.....	2	89th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
45th Regt., O. V. I.....	5	90th Regt., O. V. I.....	1
46th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	91st Regt., O. V. I.....	2
47th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	92nd Regt. O. V. I.....	2
48th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	93d Regt., O. V. I.....	2
49th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	94th Regt., O. V. I.....	4
50th Regt., O. V. I.....	1	95th Regt., O. V. I.....	4
51st Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	96th Regt., O. V. I.....	4
52nd Regt., O. V. I.....	2	97th Regt. O. V. I.....	2
53rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	98th Regt. O. V. I.	2
54th Regt., O. V. V. I....	1	99th Regt. O. V. I.....	2
55th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	100th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
56th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	101st Regt., O. V. I.....	1
57th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	102nd Regt., O. V. I.....	1
58th Regt., O. V. V. I....	4	103rd Regt., O. V. I.....	1
59th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	104th Regt., O. V. I.....	1
60th Regt., O. V. I.....	4	105th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
61st Regt., O. V. I.....	3	106th Regt. O. V. I.....	2
62nd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	107th Regt., O. V. I.....	3
63rd Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	108th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
64th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	109th Regt	1
65th Regt., O. V. V. I....	3	110th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
66th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	111th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
67th Regt., O. V. V. I....	2	112th Regt., O. V. I.....	1

113th Regt., O. V. I..... 4
114th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
115th O. V. I..... 2
116th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
117th Regt..... Missing
118th O. V. I..... 3
119th Regt. 1
120th Regt., O. V..... 2
121st Regt., O. V. I..... 4
122nd Regt., O. V. I..... 3
123rd Regt., O. V. I..... 1
124th Regt., O. V. I..... 1
125th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
126th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
127th O. V. I..... 1
128th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
129th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
130th Regt. ..... Missing
131st Regt. 1
132nd Regt. ..... Missing
133rd Regt., O. V. I..... 1
134th Regt. ..... Missing
135th Regt. ..... Missing
136th Regt. ..... Missing
137th Regt. ..... Missing
138th Regt. ..... Missing
139th Regt. ..... Missing
140th Regt. ..... Missing
141st Regt. ..... Missing
142nd Regt 1
143rd Regt. ..... Missing
144th Regt. ..... Missing
145th Regt. ..... Missing
146th Regt. ..... Missing
147th Regt. ..... Missing
148th Regt. ..... Missing
149th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
150th Regt. ..... Missing
151st Regt. ..... Missing
152nd Regt. ..... Missing
153rd Regt. ..... Missing
154th Regt. ..... Missing
155 Regt., O. V. I. 1
156th Regt., O. V. I..... Missing
157th Regt. 1
158th Regt. ..... Missing
159th Regt. ..... Missing
160th Regt. ..... Missing
161st Regt ..... Missing
162nd Regt. ..... Missing
163rd Regt., O. V. I..... 2
164th Regt. ..... Missing
165th Regt. ..... Missing
166th Regt. ..... Missing
167th Regt. ..... Missing
168th Regt. ..... Missing
169th Regt. ..... Missing
170th Regt. ..... Missing
171st Regt. ..... Missing
173rd Regt., O. V. I. 1
174th Regt. O. V. I..... 3
175th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
176th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
177th Regt., O. V. I..... 1
178th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
179th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
180th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
181st Regt., O. V. I. 1
182nd Regt., O. V. I. 2
183rd Regt., O. V. I..... 2
184th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
185th Regt., O. V. I..... 1
186th Regt. O. V. I..... 3
187th Regt. ..... Missing
188th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
189th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
190th Regt., O. V. I..... 1
191st Regt., O. V. I..... 2
192nd Regt., O. V. I..... 3
193rd Regt., O. V. I..... 2
194th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
195th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
196th Regt., O. V. I..... 3
197th Regt., O. V. I..... 2
198th Regt. O. V. I..... Missing
5th Regt., U. S. C. T..... 2
27th Regt., U. S. C. T.... 3

CAVALRY.

1st Regt., O. V. V. C.....	1	8th Regt., O. V. C.....Missing	
2nd Regt. O. V. V. C.....	1	9th Regt., O. V. C.....	3
3rd Regt., O. V. V. C.....	2	10th Regt., O. V. C.....	1
4th Regt., O. V. V. C.....	1	11th Regt. O. V. C.	2
4th Indpt. Co., O. V. V C.	1	12th Regt., O. V. C.....	3
5th Regt., O. V. V. C.....	3	13th Regt., O. V. C.	3
6th Regt., O. V. V. C.....	1	5th Indpt. Bat., O. V. C... Missing	
7th Regt., O. V. C.....	1		

ARTILLERY.

1st Regt. H. Arty., O. V. V.	2	1st Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
2nd Regt., H. Arty., O. V. V.	2	9th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
1st Regt., Bat. A, L. Arty., O. V. V.....	2	12th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
6th Indpt., L. Arty., O. V. V.	1	14th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
7th Indpt., L. Arty., O. V. V.	1	15th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
1st Regt., Bat. B., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1	16th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
1st Regt., Bat. C., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	2	17th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
1st Regt., Bat. D, L. Arty., O. V. V.....	2	19th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	2
1st Regt., Bat. G, L. Arty., O. V. V.....	2	22nd Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1
1st Regt., Bat. H, L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1	25th Indpt. Bat., L. Arty., O. V. V.....	1

MEXICAN WAR.

3rd Regt., O. V. I.....	1	2 Mexican War, number of Regt. not given.	
2nd Regt., O. V. I.....	1		

MISCELLANEOUS FLAGS.

1 Black Brigade, Cincinnati, Ohio.
2 Franklin Co., Ohio Association Union ex-prisoners of war.
Ohio Contingent Flag of the 2nd Kentucky Infantry, U. S. A.
1 Flag used at funeral of President Garfield.
2 State Fencibles.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

INFANTRY.

1st Regt., O. V. I.....	1	6th Regt., O. V. I.....	2
2nd Regt., O. V. I.....	2	7th Regt., O. V. I.....	3
3rd Regt., O. V. I.....	2	8th Regt., O. V. I.....	Missing
4th Regt. O. V. I.	1	9th Battalion, O. V. I....	1
5th Regt., O. V U.....	1	10th Regt., O. V. I.....	2

ARTILLERY.

Bat. A., 1st L. Arty.....	1	Bat. H, 1st L. Arty.....	2
Bat. C, 1st L. Arty.....	1	Troop H, 1st O. V. C....	1
Bat. G, 1st L. Arty.....	1		

Respectfully submitted,

W. L. CURRY, *Chairman,*
Captain First Ohio Cavalry, Civil War.

CHARLES HUGHES,
First Regiment, U. S. C. T., Civil War.

CHARLES R. MILLER,
Major, Spanish-American War.
Committee.

(House Bill No. 422.)

AN ACT

To provide for printing the report of the commission which had in charge the placing of the battle flags of Ohio in the rotunda of the state capitol.

WHEREAS, Under the authority conferred upon him by section 15291-1 of General Code, Governor Willis appointed a commission to provide for placing the battle flags of Ohio in the rotunda of the state capitol, which commission completed its work and filed a report with said governor, by whom the same has been transmitted to the General Assembly, and

WHEREAS, Out of the sum placed at the disposal of the commission there is an unexpended balance of one thousand and ninety-nine dollars, which will lapse to the general revenue fund of the state, and

WHEREAS, Such report contains historical matter of very great value and interest to all Ohio veterans and to all students of Ohio history, therefore

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

That the supervisor of public printing is hereby authorized and directed to have printed five thousand copies of the report of such commission, together with the addresses delivered by Governors James E. Campbell and Frank B. Willis, on the occasion of the transfer of said battle flags to their present location and also tributes from Governor James M. Cox and former Governors Joseph B. Foraker, Myron T. Herrick and Judson Harmon. Such report and other matter shall be printed and bound in a style and manner to be selected by such supervisor and shall be distributed under the direction of the adjutant general, as follows: Twenty-five copies to the governor, twenty-five to each of the living ex-governors, ten to each of the state officers and the adjutant general, ten each to the presiding officers, clerks and members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 81st and 82nd General Assemblies, two thousand to the headquarters of the Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic for distribution by that organization, one hundred to the headquarters of the Department of Ohio, United Spanish War Veterans for distribution, ten to the National Soldiers' Home at Dayton, ten to the Soldiers' Home at Sandusky, ten to the Madison Home, ten to the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, and the balance to the public libraries of the state. For the purpose of defraying the cost and expense of the printing, binding, publication and distribution of such report the said unexpended balance of one thousand and ninety-nine dollars is hereby re-appropriated and made available, and the auditor of state is hereby authorized to issue warrants on such funds for the payment of such expenses on the presentation

to him of vouchers approved by the supervisor of public printing and the adjutant general.

E. J. Hopple,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Earl D. Bloom,
President of the Senate.

Passed March 21, 1917.
Approved March 30, 1917.
James M. Cox, *Governor.*
Filed in office of Secretary of State, April 2, 1917.

SPEECH OF GOV. FRANK B. WILLIS.

Upon the Occasion of the Removal of the Battle Flags to the Rotunda of the Capitol.

This is an inspiring spectacle. The old flags have been placed in safe repose in Ohio's heart. Here they will be preserved to latest time, a memory of the heroism of a generation gone, an inspiration to generations yet unborn. If these historic banners could speak they would tell of disappointment and defeat and privation, but also of victory. Yet, interesting as is the epic of the banners, more thrilling still is the story of the heroism of the men that fought beneath them.

This capitol building has been the silent witness of many important events, but through its portals in recent years has passed no more impressive pageant than the veteran defenders of the union, who have this day carried again the tattered flags that they followed over the battle fields when they were the "boys in blue." In affectionate appreciation and memory they are still the "boys in blue," but a little more than half a century ago, they were indeed "the boys," the blush of youth on their cheeks, and in their hearts the enthusiastic resolution to do, and if necessary, to die for liberty and union.

The years through which they served their country on the battlefield were momentous ones for the Republic. The years that have followed since their battalions returned under the eagles of victory and melted without a murmur into the ranks

of peace, constitute an epoch of national development unrivaled in the history of the world. In the language of one of your comrades, Benjamin Harrison, president of the United States, "The fires of productive industry were lighted at the pyre of human slavery." Then followed the period of material and civil development that has made our nation the richest and potentially the strongest in the world. You went forward to battle to make the Union "one and inseparable." You carried the stars and stripes through the stress and storm of conflict and placed them higher on the battlements of freedom. Your heroic service inspired these younger men, the soldiers of 1898, to make Cuba free and today their flags have honored places side by side with yours. And the monument to your valor and patriotism is the Republic itself, today the foremost nation of the world, the harbinger of peace to a continent engaged in desolating war.

It has been your pride that you gave the early years of your lives to make liberty universal on this continent and to preserve a union that has grown to lead and bless the world. This is the service that inspired your youth, that blesses your declining years, and enshrines you in the gratitude of the generations that follow you.

In the palmy days of the "Eternal City" to be a Roman was declared to be greater than to be a king. As you follow for the last time these frayed and wasted battle flags, no words of mine can tell of the pride that is justly yours. There must be something royal and kingly in the thought that you bore an honored part in the preservation and advancement of the Republic in which all are equal before the law and in the opportunity to rise from the humblest station to place and prestige and power. We hail you and congratulate you. May your remaining days be peaceful and happy. Long live the loyal soldiers of the civil war, and the Spanish-American war, long live the Republic that you preserved for us, that we love so well and over it forever may the flag of freedom and union wave.

ADDRESS OF EX-GOVERNOR JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

All history may be searched in vain for a spectacle more pathetic than that of which we are today the witnesses; no scene could appeal more deeply to our sympathies, and none could be more inspiring. It infinitely refreshes our patriotism in this day, when the trimmer and truckler are abroad in the land, to revive the glorious memories of a desperate war fought for a noble purpose. As we gaze, with moistened eyes, upon these blood-stained flags, they not only remind us of the holy cause which they typify, but they also remind us that there are some evils inexpressibly worse than a just and honorable war.

"Who has not read, with throbbing heart, some old chivalric story
Where din of arms and wars alarms bespoke a people's glory,
And felt, though dark the carnage be, that war, when right's defender,
Adds another gem to the diadem which crowns a nation's splendor".

If ever a war "crowned a nation's splendor," if ever a war served to make a nation great, and proud and happy; it was the one in which these tattered banners received their baptism of fire.

Those of us who were living at the outbreak of that war, cannot look upon these battle-scarred flags without recalling many tragic memories. We can again see the war clouds lowering as, one by one, the southern states attempted to secede; we can see, temporarily, the fatal hopefulness or apparent difference of the total states—their inexplicable belief that, in some fortuitous way, war would be averted. Then, when the old flag of Sumter was fired on, we are thrilled to the very heart by the spontaneous fury of the entire North—an instantaneous uprising of the whole people in which age, sex, party and, in fact, everything else was forgotten in the fierce determination to avenge that insulted banner. No tongue could adequately depict that scene. "Old Glory" was flung to the breeze from every hill and housetop, while there rushed to its defense an affronted and unconquerable race of freemen. Again we can see the stern realities of a long and bloody war; the land rever-

berating with the "tramp, tramp, tramp," of the marching thousands (which finally ran up into millions) as "Father Abraham" repeated his calls for "three hundred thousand more"; the numbering and renumbering of people (like Israel of old) as fresh thousands went forth, undismayed, to fill the ghastly gaps which shot and shell had made, while, over those gallant hosts there floated these war-worn banners which, today, are laid away in their last home—never again to be proudly borne by the aged veterans who fought and bled under their torn and mangled folds.

Every son and daughter of Ohio will doubtless listen, with conscious pride, to a partial recital of the long list of illustrious Buckeye soldiers who led their comrades under these glorious flags. There was the modest Grant rising, by sheer merit and an ever readiness to fight, to the command of the greatest armies that the civilized world had ever known; the incisive Sherman who, at the outset, saw more clearly than others the probable magnitude of the coming struggle; the dashing Sheridan, the very embodiment and incarnation of war, whose ambition at the start was to rise to the command of a regiment; the gallant McPherson, dead on the "Field of Fame;" those numerous "Fighting McCooks," so many of whom shed their last blood in their country's cause; those future presidents, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley; those future Governors, Anderson, Jacob D. Cox, Noyes, Young, Foraker and Harris; these two conspicuously gallant generals, comrades in war but not in peace, Keifer and Sherwood; McDowell the unfortunate but not culpable commander at Bull Run; Rosecranz, the brave but mistaken commander at Chickamauga; Hazen, always in the thickest of the fight; Crook, the hero of the Shenandoah Valley; Robert C. Schenck and Durbin Ward with their broken shoulders; Gilmore, the greatest engineer; Custer, the tawny-haired lion of battle; George W. Morgan, the Mexican War veteran; Lytle, the poetic, and Lorain Andrews, the scholarly; Steedman, the "beau Sabruer;" Lowe, the first Ohio colonel to fall; Vanderveer, the right hand of "Old Pap Thomas" on that long night, succeeded by a happier day, when he deservedly earned his well-known soubriquet of "The Rock of Chickamauga;" and those brave

men of this city, Beatty, Mitchell, Carrington, Walcutt, McMillen and Hamilton. This list might be continued almost indefinitely, but we must pass on.

It would require a most eloquent orator, with a copious vocabulary, to portray the graphic scenes of march and battle over which these dear old flags have floated—sometimes in exultant triumph but often in gloomy defeat. They were at the early battles in Virginia, beginning in the western part of the state and ending ingloriously at Bull Run, during which time the Union forces learned in bitterness the lesson of a lack of due preparation for war—a lesson so costly as to make it seem incredible that it all must be learned over again, and that too at a time when the world is being deluged in blood. These flags were at Fort Donelson where Grant first showed the bull-dog qualities which were the basis of his later and greater victories; and they were with him at Shiloh and its "slaughter pen" when he was alleged to have used a brand of whiskey which Lincoln was so anxious to get hold of in order that he might issue it as rations to some of the other generals who were not so anxious to fight. These flags were in that dreadful Chickahominy campaign, including the bloody Seven Days' Battle; and at Antietam where McClellan redeemed his reputation for willingness to fight, but lost it again by failing to pursue and destroy the enemy. They waved over the many deadly charges through the icy river at Fredericksburg where Burnside made the same awful mistake that Grant did at Cold Harbor and Lee did at Gettysburg, when he ordered direct assaults in front against an impregnable position. They were floating in pride at Stone River on those bitter wintry days of desperate strife; and they witnessed the disastrous and unnecessary defeat at Chancellorsville, where Hooker was outgeneraled and Stonewall Jackson was killed. They followed Grant through the campaign which ended in the weary siege of Vicksburg and its grand surrender a day after the ending of the decisive battle at Gettysburg—the only one fought on northern soil and the greatest battle of the war. These tattered flags were all over the bloody field of Chickamauga, a battle in which more than one-third of the army came from our grand old state; and they followed up that engagement

by fluttering gaily above the clouds in the unique and spectacular victory of Mission Ridge. They were with the gallant Shaw, first commander of a colored regiment, as his young life ebbed out in the fierce charge at Fort Wagner. These same old flags floated in every one of those great battles between Grant and Lee in 1864 when they fought continuously for the whole summer, and where Grant lost in thirty days more men than Lee's entire army. They were in the desperate assault on the "Bloody Angle" at Petersburg; and they were at Cedar Creek "with Sheridan twenty miles away" at the beginning, but whose wonderful ride to the field, and the resultant victory snatched from defeat by his inspiring presence, have been embalmed in Buchanan Reed's stirring poem of "Sheridan's Ride." They floated over Sherman's army in his triumphant Atlanta campaign against that master of Fabian strategy—Joseph E. Johnston; and they were with that same army in its semi-bellicose picnic known as "Sherman's March to the Sea" celebrated in that good old song "Marching through Georgia." Those old flags were with Thomas in the marvelously perfect battles of Nashville and Franklin. They followed the fortunes of the Mississippi Squadron as step by step it fought its way down the Father of Waters and up its tributaries including the unparalleled feats of engineering during Bank's expedition on Red River; and they were within supporting distance where Farragut lashed himself to the mast and "damned" the torpedoes in Mobile Bay. At the last they were with Grant when he finally throttled Lee and ended the war in the historic surrender at Appomattox—ever memorable for the unstinted magnanimity of the victor and the impressive dignity of the vanquished.

And what of the brave boys from Ohio who fell in battle under these precious flags—whose promising young lives were offered up as a "costly sacrifice on the altar of liberty"? Where are they? Everywhere—in the mountain gorges of the Blue Ridge; on the fertile plains of the Cotton Belt; under the deadly swamps of the Carolinas; amidst the dense thickets of the Wilderness; strewing the almost continuous battlefields of northern Virginia; scattered over the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky and her sister state of Tennessee, and far beyond the

Mississippi. Their bones are heaped in trenches where the leaden hail fell thickest, and bleach unfound in prison pens where ghastly famine stalked. The turbulent waves of the Atlantic and the tepid waters of the Gulf flow over the iron ships in which they are forever coffined. They are the "Unknown Dead" —peace to their ashes! These war-wasted flags are their most glorious memorial—these flags that are

> "While for their precious honor, red for the rose of youth
> Lost in the heat of battle, lost for the sake of truth;
> Blue for the skies above them when, in the long ago,
> They, in a loyal spirit fought with a gallant foe".

TRIBUTE BY GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX.

It was a beautiful thought that inspired the preservation and display of these battle-scarred standards of three wars. They occupy a sacred place in the affections of all Ohioans, and it is indeed fitting that they are now enshrined beneath the dome of our state capitol, where they may be at once an inspiration and a beautiful memory.

It is appropriate for us to pause, in the midst of our participation in the present gigantic military conflict, that we may reflect upon the achievements of those whose valor and patriotism are commemorated by these battle-flags.

I congratulate the Commission upon its diligence in collecting 455 of these flags and thus affording the opportunity to have with us for all time these eloquent witnesses of our fathers' and forefathers' achievements.

James M. Cox.

TRIBUTE OF EX-GOV. JUDSON HARMON.

The placing in the rotunda of the Capitol of the battle flags of the Ohio Regiments in the Civil War was approved while I had charge of them. I am glad the plan has since been carried out.

Those who lived in the four years of that war need no reminder of the valor and devotion of the men who bore and defended those banners. But it is well to vivify, by the sight of these emblems with their blood stains and bullet rents, the heroic story which comes to younger citizens only as a tale that is told. Just now the Nation needs again the service on the battle field of her young men and that of her women and older men behind the lines. But the patriotic spirit which calls forth personal sacrifice for the common welfare is a constant need in peace as well as in war, in order that the institutions which secure our liberty and rights may prosper and endure. In times of peace this spirit is apt to become sluggish with many, and recalling to them the sacrifices others have made revives and stimulates it. The sacrifices for the public welfare which are made by citizens in times of peace are not so vivid and often do not seem so real as the loss of life or limb or health or vigor by those who don the battle garb at the country's call, but they are needed oftener because peace is the normal condition of our Republic, which makes war only as the last resort.

Never before in the World's history was there such an army as that whose banners are now put before the eyes of the public. It sprang from the people and in the hour of victory went quietly back whence it came. Untrained, and unlearned in the art of war though it was in the beginning, it displayed the genius of the American people by important contributions to that art, both on land and sea, in arms, armament, tactics and strategy. And its members proved again that the morale and efficiency of an organization in war, as in peace, depend chiefly on the character of the individuals who compose it.

The veterans of that war who still survive are the best reminders of the heroism which saved the Union and baptized it in blood to newness of life. But soon these will join their comrades in the bivouac of the dead. Only the flags they bore will remain to reach, through the most vivid of the senses, the heart and soul of later generations, keeping patriotism alive and awake not as a sentiment only but as a fruitful source of unselfish service and devotion to State and Nation whose need of

such service varies but never ceases. And it must come from its citizens themselves if our Republic is to live.

Sincerely yours,

JUDSON HARMON.

TRIBUTE OF EX-GOV. J. B. FORAKER.

APRIL 11, 1917.

DEAR MR. LIGGITT:

I have your letter of April 9th, and sincerely thank you for the privilege you give me of saying something about the Battle Flags, to be incorporated in the Memorial Book you are intending to publish.

If I were in better health I would no doubt take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded me to say something at this time; but under all the circumstances I think it would be better to let the record stand just as it was made at the time.

I received an invitation to attend sent by Comrade W. S. Matthews, to which I replied as follows:

"W. S. MATTHEWS, *Esq.*, "APRIL 15, 1916.
Columbus, Ohio.

"DEAR SIR AND COMRADE:

"I have your letter of April 13th inviting me to attend and participate in the ceremonial exercises to be held at Columbus, April 27th, in connection with the removal of the Union Battle flags from their wooden cases and their present location to the steel cases in the rotunda of the Capitol, in accordance with the provisions therefor heretofore made.

"It is with great regret I find myself unable to accept your kind invitation. The occasion will be one I know that will impress sentiments of patriotism upon all who are present, and because of its unique character one that will be long remembered and celebrated in the history of our State.

"Sincerely wishing you a successful and enjoyable occasion, I remain

"Very truly your, etc.

J. B. FORAKER."

If you will incorporate this letter I will be much obliged. It will explain why I was not there, and will also show that I appreciated the patriotic and significant character of the occasion.

Trusting that this will meet with your approval, and again thanking you for the kindness you have shown me in this matter, which I assure you is highly appreciated, I remain

Very truly your, etc.

(Signed) J. B. FORAKER.

HON. D. A. LIGGITT,
Rushsylvania, Ohio.

TRIBUTE OF EX-GOV. MYRON T. HERRICK.

Grant, the two Shermans, Sheridan, Garfield, Thomas, Hayes, Harrison, McKinley, Foraker, Edwin M. Stanton, Salmon P. Chase—what a host of brilliant soldiers and statesmen Ohio gave to the nation for the winning of the Civil War and for the work of reconstruction and civil administration in the years that followed. Men born in Ohio occupied the White House for half of the last fifty years during which the United States grew out of its provincial isolation into a world power. Their policies set the standards to which nations conformed; they determined the course of national and international history.

Officers are an index of the type of men that they command. These courageous and skilful leaders of the armies were not more devoted to the noble cause for which they fought or more arduous to advance it than the legions of men from this state who served in the ranks or in minor posts during the Civil War. Almost 350,000 they were in number, and 25,000 of them gave their lives while thousands more came back to bear through life the scars of battle and the impairments of exposure and disease.

To the valiant officers of Ohio who filled high places to the honor of their State and Nation; to those who went and did not return but "gave the last full measure of devotion" that the Union might live, and live free from the shame of slavery; to those who served until peace was won and then came back to live

out their years of useful activity in civil life, Ohio gives grateful tribute.

The Civil War, like all the wars in which the American nation has been engaged, was a war for ideals. Not conquest or revenge, not indemnities or markets, but the ending of human slavery and the integrity of the state were the principles vindicated. As all Americans, north and south, now agree, it was the eternal right against the eternal wrong. All honor to those men, officers, privates, civilians, who had the vision to see these issues clearly and to fight the war through without compromise to the complete victory of the right and to a peace that has endured and will endure because it was founded in justice and honor.

Once more after many years the country is at war in defense of great principles, for the vindication of truth and justice and fair dealing between nations and to secure for peoples everywhere in large countries and small that freedom of thought and action which America has long enjoyed, for which America stands sponsor to the world. In Voltaire's time the cause of liberty stirred the multitudes. Why is liberty so rare? was asked. "Because it is the most valuable possession," Voltaire answered. Since then that "most valuable possession" had spread throughout the world until August, 1914, when the vast armies of Germany marched out to narrow and restrict and destroy it everywhere. Through the terrible years that ensued Germany's ruthless invasion of neighboring countries, her disregard of treaties, her enslavement of helpless civilians, have shown that we must fight again for liberty.

The war in Europe is entering on its decisive stage. Remembering with what bravery and endurance the men of '61 fought for and achieved the victory of the right, so may the Americans of this day and generation, north and south, east and west alike, take fresh inspiration to carry this war on through whatever sacrifice and hardship it may bring to final victory and a peace that will endure because founded in the right.

Myron T. Herrick.

Cleveland, March 4th, 1918.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XXVIII. No. 2. E. O. Randall APRIL, 1919.

TEMPERANCE AND CHURCH-BUILDING IN PIONEER DAYS ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

By Justus Newton Brown, Oberlin, Ohio.

In the fall of 1826 my mother's father, Rev. Joseph Edwards, removed from Manlius, New York, where he had been pastor of the Presbyterian church, to Greenfield, Huron County, Ohio. The next year he preached the first sermon ever preached by an ordained minister in the township of Ripley, in the same county, to a congregation consisting of seven families. In 1828, when he removed to Ripley, less than two dozen families had settled there. When he had been there something over two years, he organized the first temperance society in the township. It consisted of the members of his own family and its constitution ran thus:

"This society shall be composed of the parents and children and such other members of our family as shall hereunto subscribe their names. In forming the constitution we pledge ourselves to observe the following rules:

"1. We will use no ardent spirits ourselves, nor suffer the use of them in our families, nor present them to our friends, or those in our employment, unless in cases of extreme necessity for medical purposes.

"2. Those of us who are or hereafter shall become heads of families solemnly agree to teach our households the principles of entire abstinence, and to use our best endeavors to obtain their signatures to this constitution.

"3. A copy of this constitution shall be pasted in our family Bible, to which our children (if any) shall be often pointed as the act of their parents, and we solemnly enjoin it on them, as they revere our memories, sacredly to regard these our sentiments." The constitution was signed by my grandfather and every member of his family, eight in all, in the order of their ages.

As an outgrowth of this temperance society, another was soon formed with which nearly all the families in Ripley united. Its meetings were held at the log cabins of its members until log school-houses were built, which furnished better accommodations for public meetings. That society continued to grow until it numbered more than a hundred members. In writing for the Firelands Historical Society a short time before

the Civil War, of what the pioneers of Ripley did for temperance, I mentioned the fact that during most of the time from the first settlement of the township no intoxicating liquors were exposed for sale within its borders. And now, writing again of the same thing more than a half century later, I am able to add that, in the matter of temperance, Ripley has not lost the character given to it by its first settlers.

What follows in regard to the pioneers of Tallmadge and Wadsworth, Ohio, was written for me many years ago by Rev. Edward Brown, whose father, Judge Frederick Brown, was one of the first settlers of Wadsworth.

"Of how meeting-houses were built when money, even to pay taxes, was hard to get, I will give two examples within my own recollection. One was at Tallmadge, where almost from the first the people had met for worship in 'the academy,' a frame building of two rooms with a 'swing partition.' The plan was agreed to that each member of the society should hew on his own land a beam or post or a plate, according to bill, to be delivered upon the ground on a given day, the first arrival to be awarded a premium. This was obtained by an old Connecticut ex-deacon and his sons, and consisted of a wooden barrel-shaped harvest bottle (much used in those days), filled with prime whiskey. . . . That was in 1826. Two years afterward the temperance society (then called in derision the 'cold water society') with its pledge against the use of 'all ardent spirits as a beverage,' was introduced into Tallmadge. The pledge movement swept through the church and community, this ex-deacon and his sons being among its most zealous advocates.

"The other example was in my own town, Wadsworth. In the northern half, 'the Yankee settlement,' the temperance pledge had been very generally accepted. . . . In the adjoining town of Norton were over one hundred men pledged to abstinence. The Congregational church feeling the need of a house, in 1830 thirteen persons, of whom I was the youngest, a youth of sixteen, resolved to build and finish one with our own hands, employing only a 'boss workman' to layout and oversee the work. Logs for the lumber were drawn to the saw-mill to be sawed 'at the halves'. Then in the month of March, before plowing time, we went into the woods, cut and hewed the timber, and hauled it to the ground where in three weeks we had the frame ready to raise. Then a new question for that region came up: 'Can we raise the building without whiskey?' Our unanimous resolve was: 'It shall be done or the timber shall rot on the ground.'

"The three youngest of our number were sent to invite every resident of the town, telling each, 'No whisky, but a good dinner will be furnished.' We met with some encouraging words and more angry or sullen refusals. While we were in doubt of success, spending an anxious Sunday, the Norton temperance men assembled at a meeting and after its close formed a plan to aid us. A messenger came to us on Monday, the day before the time set for the raising, bringing this proposition:

'Your house is going up on Tuesday. If Wadsworth can't raise it, Norton will. We will meet at Norton Center for a game of base-ball, prepared with wagons and horses, if warned by one o'clock that we will be wanted. Then when we come every Wadsworth man must stand back and see Norton men put up the frame.' The same messenger then slyly told the leading men of the whisky party, the plan being to bring all Wadsworth to see Norton's triumph.

"The day came. Being myself the appointed messenger if needed, I had my father's little fast mare, Bullet, fed, groomed and saddled, to be ready to gallop five miles to Norton. By nine o'clock a larger company than ever before seen at a raising in Wadsworth were sitting on the timbers. Much apprehension was felt that the meaning of this was forcible prevention, and that the Norton men would be welcomed to a riot. Our commandant, Esquire Ward, stepped forward, swung his square and called out: 'Now men, please get up and carry these timbers together as I point them out.' Instantly every one was on his feet and enough men to raise two such buildings quickly put the 'bents' together.

"While they were going up my father, instead of sending me to Norton, dispatched me to our house, a quarter of a mile off, where the dinner was being prepared by the ladies of the society, to say: 'Make the dinner twice as large as you have planned.' By twelve o'clock the last pin was driven in the last rafter, and a good-natured crowd, all sober and happy, bandying jokes and gibes, were marshalled around two long tables in our front yard, to a sumptuous dinner. The afternoon was taken up in games of old-fashioned base-ball. This was the greatest triumph of temperance in that part of Ohio. Raisings without whisky soon became the rule instead of the exception. The only triumph our Norton friends enjoyed was in the claim: 'We shamed Wadsworth into temperance.'"

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR D. A. R.

By Mrs. Lewis C. Laylin.

[Report made before Columbus Chapter, February 22, 1919. — Editor.]

At the last State Conference of the D. A. R. held in Dayton in 1917, the Chairman on Special Legislation reported that the bill authorizing the purchase by the State of the site of Campus Martius at Marietta had passed the General Assembly. It was signed by Governor Cox and became a law on April 7, Mayflower Second Day, the day we celebrate the landing of the pioneers on that historic spot.

You all remember that the United States declared war on April 6, 1917, and our whole country was plunged into the great world war which absorbed all our time, energies and resources for two years. So nothing was done during that time in regard to the transfer of the property, and

the appropriation would have lapsed in two years and reverted back to the State. However, the matter was taken up again last fall (1918) and it is a curious coincidence that on the day that the armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, the Ohio Legislative Committee filed its report of the purchase, together with the deeds for the transfer of the property with the Governor and Attorney General for their approval, as required by the Act of the General Assembly. The Governor and Attorney General approved the purchase and the deeds and directed the Auditor of State to issue his warrants on the Treasurer for the payment of the amount, $16,000 appropriated by the State for the purchase of Campus Martius from its owners, Miss Minerva T. Nye and Mrs. Theodore F. Davis of Marietta. This was done on February 14, 1919, St.

Homestead of Judge Arius Nye, called the "Block House." It was formerly the home, in the Campus Martius, of General Rufus Putnam. The lower wing on the right was built over the frame works of the southeast Block House of 1788. The original building contained the kitchen of the Campus Martius fort, and stood as first erected until 1847. In 1888 the structure was remodeled to form a more modern kitchen, and the picture presented represents the edifice as it looked in 1890, and as it practically now appears.

Valentine's day, making a most appropriate valentine for the State of Ohio.

Therefore, Campus Martius is now the property of the State of Ohio, and under the Act is placed in the custody of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. The consummation of this patriotic enterprise was largely due to the advice and co-operation of Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of this society, and the Chairman of this D. A. R. committee wishes to gratefully acknowledge his valuable services to the State and to the Daughters of the American Revolution.

HIGH LIGHTS IN OHIO LITERATURE.

BY EMILIUS O. RANDALL,
Ph.B. (Cornell); *LL.B., LL.M.* (O. S. U.); *LL.D.* (Ohio).

[An address delivered before the OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, on the evening of November 12, 1917.]

Matthew Arnold, the apostle of sweetness and light, in one of his delightful after-dinner speeches before the Royal Academy, reminded his hearers that Fauriel, the French literary historian, tells of a company of Greeks, settled "somewhere" in Southern Italy, in the ancient days, who retained for an unusual number of years their Greek language and customs. But time and environment were at last too strong for them; they began to lose, or felt themselves losing, their distinctive Greek character; they grew like unto the people about them. But, once every year, they assembled at a public festival of their community and there in language which the inroads of "barbarism" were every year more and more debasing, they reminded one another that they were once uncorrupted Greeks.

So I take it, gentlemen, you as members of the Ohio Society, a colony in a foreign state, amid the crowding distractions of a busy life, assemble on occasions like this to remind one another that you were once Ohioans, and though contented in the land of your adoption are still bound by the ties of fond memory to the grand old Buckeye State. It is a fitting and loyal thing to thus occasionally assemble.

The Marquis de Lafayette, on his visit to this country in 1825, was received by Governor Morrow and staff, at Cincinnati, in the presence of thousands of people. The welcome songs of hundreds of school children and the evidences of cultured society, on a site which at the time of his services in the American Revolution was a wilderness of waste, inhabited solely

by savages and wild beasts, so impressed Lafayette that he exclaimed "Ohio is the eighth wonder of the world".

It was indeed a marvel of history that within a generation there had sprung from the primeval forest a perfected and refined community, full fledged, as Minerva, Goddess of Wisdom, sprang full armored from the brow of Jove.

Ohio is unequivocally unique. Her story, geologic, geographic and historic, covers a varied and novel career. Her first recorded residents were the ice-men; then came that mysterious race called the Mound Builders, more populous in Ohio than in any other part of the West; then it became the favorite center of the American Indian, whose greatest heroes, Pontiac, Cornstalk, Logan, Little Turtle, Tecumseh and Tarhe, fought on the banks of Ohio streams, for the retention of their hunting grounds and the repression of the white race. Ohio by the terms of the Papal bull of Alexander VI was ceded to Spain; then it passed by right of discovery and exploration to France; thence by conquest to England, from whom it was wrested by the young giant of the new world, the United States; and now I might add with Republican sorrow it seems to belong to the Democratic party.

There is scientific and logical explanation for the brilliant beginning and progressive advance of the Ohioan.

The story goes that when the Creator was, according to divine plans and specifications, molding into shape this mundane sphere, he sent a bevy of angels to carry the Garden of Eden to its proper location, so that the bride and groom, the first pair, could have fitting quarters in which to spend their honeymoon, but, so the legend goes, the angels in flying on their errand through the air, accidently dropped a piece of the precious real estate and the spot upon which it fell subsequently became the State of Ohio!

But unquestionably the character and development of man is the combined result of his heredity and habitat, his native endowments and his environment.

Plutarch in his life of Solon states that after the rebellion of Kylon (B. C. 612) the Athenian people were divided into as many political factions as there were physical types of

country in Attica. The mountaineers who were the poorest party, wanted something like a democracy; the people of the plain, comprising the greatest number of rich families, were clamorous for an oligarchy; the seacoast population of the South, intermediate both in social position and wealth, wanted something between the two. Geography gives color to the character of society; geography lies at the basis of history; indeed it is truly said "history is geography set in motion".

It was the salubrious, temperate climate of the Ohio zone, plus the fertility of soil and beauty of scenery — the gentle hills, picturesque plains and rippling rivers—that gave joy and peace and prosperity to the frontiersman; a habitat that stimulated the springs of thought and imagination, that quickened the energy, the initiative; encouraged the adaptability and receptivity of the transplanted New Englander and Virginian. Ohio was thus admirably located for a benign influence upon the economic, social and intellectual life of its occupants. Midway between the waters of the Erie and "the beautiful river", Ohio was the first transallegheny arena for the westward moving settler. The war for independence ended and won, the surviving heroes of the battle-fields from Lexington to Yorktown, heroes who had lost all save honor and hope, cheer and courage, wended their way across the mountains to the El Dorado of the West, to re-start life and repair their broken fortunes.

The Continental Congress then in session in New York, on July 13, passed the Ordinance of 1787, creating the Northwest Territory, and fourteen days thereafter authorized the sale of the apportioned land to the Ohio Company. Incidentally it might be noted that the lobby of the Ohio Company met serious opposition in the shape of competitive New York aggregation seeking similar western grants; the Knickerbocker real estate speculators were outwitted by the Yankee bunch who scooped New York by arranging, "on the side", that if the Ohio bill went through General Arthur St. Clair, the president of Congress, would be "taken in camp" by being appointed Governor of the new Northwest Territory, evidencing the political astuteness of the original Ohioan, who early began to logroll. Tammany had nothing on the Ohio company.

The Ohio Company — headed by Rufus Putman, Manassah Cuttler, Samuel Parsons, and others in the list of illustrious immortals—was organized at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern, so-called, doubtless, from the incident of the "Grapes of Eschol", secured by the spies of Moses from the environs of Hebron, as "exhibits" of the fruitful fertility of the "Land of Promise", — yes, it was the juice of the productive grape, mostly fermented, that lubricated the proceedings of the Charter-Ohioans in their migratory designs — but that "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern, be it remembered was located in the "Hub" of New England culture, the "blown-in-the-bottle brand", made and canned in the intellectual Athens of the new world, commonly called Boston.

These pioneer seekers were not only smart, they were book and school "larned". The organic document, that made possible their new social and political venture, the Ordinance of 1787, was intentionally and at their request provided with "Article 3" to the effect that: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged", and further, to make that proposition effective, there was inserted "there shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township".

Ten days after the passage of the Ordinance just named, an act supplementary to the act of May 20th, 1785, relating to the survey of public lands was passed providing that two whole townships were "to be given perpetually for the purposes of a seminary of learning, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state."

Even higher education was thus made certain by the provisions for lands set apart, and the Universities of Athens (Ohio University, 1804) and Oxford (Miami University, 1809) were the outgrowths; the first named being the pioneer college in the United States founded upon a land-grant; the fore-runners of the present forty-two, or more, Ohio colleges.

So *ab initio* the very atmosphere and soil of the Ohio country was aromatic with educational and literary aspirations.

As an unique illustration of the infusion of the field of

literature in the fastnesses of the primeval forests, it might be related that in 1764 General Bradstreet headed an expedition from New England, to take possession of the French forts on the Lake Erie front and at the Detroit river. As a precautionary measure he sent ahead a squad of scouts, under one Thomas Morris, a "soldier of fortune", to reconnoiter the Ottawa country. Morris' party was surrounded and summarily taken into the Indian camp. Morris himself managed to escape, and after sundry adventures secreted himself beneath the bushes overhanging the banks of the Maumee. After some days of anxious search by a rescuing squad from Bradstreet's headquarters Morris was discovered in his safe retreat, lying outstretched in a birch canoe, concealed by the protecting bull-rushes, a la Moses, complacently perusing the tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra, in a copy of Shakespeare given him by an Indian chief who found it among the plunder he had taken from some literary "pale face". We may regard this as the début of the Bard of Avon in the sylvan and savage scenery of Ohio.

The little group of men who, on the 7th of April, 1788, disembarked from the "Mayflower",— first known as the galley "Adventure" — at their destination, under the protection of the guns of Fort Harmar, were not adventurous Argonauts seeking the golden fleece, but had for their goal the founding of a western empire. Those 48 heroes, almost identical in number with those sailing in the original Argo of Old, were workmen, artisans, carpenters, boat-builders, farmers, millers, surveyors, men skilled in the various forms of toil; they could drive the plow and wield the ax, but they were men of sterling worth, of sound practical sense and refined manners; they were not illiterate and among them and their immediate followers were many from the halls of learning, preachers, teachers, even college graduates from Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Dartmouth. They not only cleared the ground and tilled the soil, but they simultaneously sowed the seed of education and fostered the attainments of culture. The scholastic flavor of their minds was reflected by the classic character of their nomenclature. At Marietta they found undisturbed the mysterious ruins of an ancient race, the Mound Builders, archæological structures

which they carefully protected and preserved. One earthen enclosed square was named the "Capitolium," and a larger one, adjacent, they dubbed the "Quadranaou", and a broad, graded road, flanked by high artificial embankments, leading from the above to the river, was called the "Via Sacra"; the newly erected garrison with a block house at each corner was named "Campus Martius", an appropriate name for indeed it became a field of Mars. Perhaps the extreme of this irrepressible trait for classic terms was exemplified in the title given (1788) by the surveying founder, one John Filson, a New Jersey academically educated schoolmaster, to the original site of his prospective town, which he platted, "Losantiville"; a singular appellation he constructed from the initial English "L", for Licking, the Latin *os,* meaning mouth, the Greek *anti,* meaning opposite to, and the French *ville* meaning city — the *tout ensemble,* so to speak, making the complete culmination of "the mouth opposite the city", but intended by the law of reservation or some sort of acrobatic psychology to signify the "city opposite the mouth of the Licking", for such was the location of the village.

Much humor has been provoked by this specimen of polygot nomenclature; for instance the historian McMasters coldbloodedly remarks that a few weeks after Filson had coined this name of Losantiville, the Indians scalped him. Shortly after its occupation by General Harmar, who built therein Fort Washington, the little town of Losantiville was chosen by Governor St. Clair to be the seat of government for the Northwest Territory. But, so the record runs, the Governor in his trip of inspection down the river (1790), arrived near the incipent village: standing on the roof of his flat-boat and looking at the collection on shore of two small hewed log houses and several cabins, he asked "What in Hell is the name of this town anyhow?" On being given the linguistic potpourri he threw up his hands in astonishment and at once rechristened the place "Cincinnati", in honor of the society of that name which had just been formed by the ex-officers of the Revolutionary Army.

The choice of the name "Cincinnati", originally from the plow-deserting Roman hero, Cincinnatus, reveals St. Clair as something of a "classicus" himself. As confirmation of this he

was responsible for the territorial seal on which was portrayed a domestic tree, laden with fruit, presumably apples, in front of which lay a primeval tree felled by the ax and cut into logs; and underneath on the seal was inscribed the Latin motto *"Meliorem lapsa locavit";* literally "he planted one better than the fallen". This Latin motto on our State Seal has had a precarious existence. It has undergone many changes. In 1866, a Republican Legislature recast the design, threw out the canal boat and among other alterations inserted the words *"Imperium in imperio"*— referring to Ohio as an empire state within an empire republic. The succeeding legislature, two years later, repudiated this motto. This last was a Democratic general assembly and the supposition is that the party then in power wanted to make Ohio "safe for Democracy", and destroy every suggestion of imperialism.

Marietta so romantically and picturesquely established was at once, not only the political capital and military citadel of the Northwest Territory, but also the center spring of culture for the new empire. A board of police was appointed for drafting a set of rules for the government of the settlement, which regulations were written out and posted on the smooth trunk of a large beech tree. The Citadel, the Campus Martius, was no sooner erected than Minerva found her abode therein. Quarters in the northwest block house were at once (winter 1788-9) provided for the schooling of the children and a New England pedagogue, one Major Anselm Tupper, delegated as the instructor in the old-fashioned and now almost obsolete three "r's" — "readin', 'riting and 'rithmetic". This school under such unique circumstances was continued uninterruptedly through the crucial years (1789-1794) of the Ohio-Indian wars.

It was in Columbia, afterwards included as part of Cincinnati, that the first individual school house was erected and occupied (1790) by one John Reilly, aided by one Francis Dunlevy, both previously school teachers and both ex-soldiers of the American Revolution. Their curriculum included Latin, Greek, and French. One private teacher advertised in the Cincinnati paper to the effect, "Readers are respectfully informed that I propose to open school again on January 1st (1805). I

shall teach reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar indiscriminately for two dollars per quarter". I believe that was the first adoption of an optional course.

Then came the period of the Marietta offshoots in settlement — here and there, up and down the Ohio, and into the interior of the country — of which Belpre (winter 1788-9) was a striking, if not the first illustration, Belpre, a euphonious contraction of "belle-prairie" or beautiful meadow.

Their log citadel was called "Farmers' Castle", in which a school was immediately opened and taught by two young women and a young man, the latter a graduate of Harvard. It was in Belpre (1798) that the first public library, west of the Alleghenies was installed — a community circulating library. Four years later (1802) the second one was inaugurated in Cincinnati, and the following year (1803), the memorable date when Ohio entered the sisterhood of states, the far-famed "coonskin" library began to circulate its precious volumes throughout the forest homes of Southern Ohio. This source of literary culture in such primitive environment was instituted in a little cluster of cabins, called Ames, on Federal creek, in now Athens county. It was suggested by Mr. Joseph True. There was no money to be contributed to such a laudable purpose and he proposed that the would-be stockholders make payment in coon skins, bear skins, and the covering of other fur animals. These skins to be carried, when collected, by one of the colony to distant Boston, and there exchanged for cash and the latter for books. This organization styled itself the "Western Library Association", but it is better and almost solely known as the "Coon-skin" library with a historic distinction second only to that of the great Alexandrian Library of ancient Egypt. Fur hunts were now the favorite and frequent pastime of the frontier settlers. Thomas Ewing, then a lad of fifteen, was a member of this backwoods community and told in after years that he contributed all his available wealth — "10 coon skins", to the library fund — it was the price of his matriculation to a life of intellectual distinction — he was the first graduate of the first Ohio college — Ohio University at Athens, — and became one of Ohio's most distinguished scholars,

orators and statesmen. With a wagon load of fur skins one Samuel Brown took up his long journey across the country to Boston — the sale of the skins amounted to $73.50, and the volumes purchased and delivered were fifty-one. The arrival of the wagon express in its forest destination was the occasion of great jubilation; the unpacked contents were handled as jewels of great price; "Minor's Encyclopedia", Marshall's "Life of Washington", Addison's "Spectator", Thompsons "Seasons", Bacon's "Essays", Pope's "Poems", "Plutarch's Lives", the works of Johnson, Hume, Robertson and tomes of a similar nature bespoke the intellectual demand of these backwoods pioneers. Certainly the cabin-fringed banks of Federal creek and the lonesome forest homes blossomed into a veritable Arcadia,—In which there were "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything".

The more pretentious centers of immigration were rapidly dotting the Ohio map. North Bend, the home of William Henry Harrison; Manchester, Dayton, Chillicothe, Franklinton, Cleveland, the latter the metropolis of the lake and of the Western Reserve — the new Connecticut. Ah, there is the garden spot of Ohio — for on the Western Reserve, of Connecticut parents, was I born—with pride unabashed I boast of being an Ohio Buckeye descended from Connecticut Nutmegs; if any birth can be more "spicy" than that you got one on me. And so the streams of immigration flowed to the new State.

In the Ohio country the racial strains of the original colonies met and mingled, and from the melting pot came the composite cosmopolitan of the new world. The first settlers of Ohio represented all the original thirteen states and largely the Revolutionary soldier. Ex-Governor Swanson, now Senator from Virginia, in his eloquent speech of welcome to the Ohioans at the Jamestown Exposition (1909) declared it was on the soil of Ohio that the first genuine, typical American was created. The early Ohioan owed his origin to the cross-breed of a variety of nationalities and religions; the Swede from New Jersey; the Knickerbocker from New York; the Dutch and Scotch-Irish, the Moravian German and Quaker-English from Pennsylvania; the Pilgrim from Massachusetts; the Puritan from Connecticut;

the Catholic Cavaliers from Maryland; the valorous and blue-blooded and thoroughbred Anglo-Saxon gentleman from Virginia, and the fearless "rough-and-tumble" pioneer of Kentucky. That was a mixture of character, culture and creed that no other pioneer state could have produced. The initial founders of Ohio were, moreover, conspicuously self-chosen from the intellectual class of the Colonies.

With a "touch and go" style let us glance at the different phases of literary culture that the early and later years of the Buckeye State produced.

JOURNALISTS.

The journalist was logically the pioneer and the pathfinder in the beginning of Ohio literature.

If I remember correctly, the first use of the term "Fourth Estate" was attributed by Carlyle to Edmund Burke, who on one occasion pointed to the reporters' gallery in the House of Commons as containing a "Fourth Estate", more powerful than the other three, namely, the nobility, the clergy and the bourgeoise—the middle-class people. Now that the nobility is merely a tradition or purely an ornament in social and governmental schemes we may promote the journalistic profession to at least the Third Estate, and I am not sure that it may not be even second in energy and power. Certain it is that the newspaper was the first form of literature to appear indigenously in the northwest and the confines of Ohio.

It was in the village of Cincinnati (1793) a century and a quarter ago that the initial newspaper — a weekly — made its appearance under the title *"Centinel of the Northwest Territory"*. Its motto on the editorial page had a commendable catholicity for it read: "Open to all parties but influenced by none". It was the property of and under the editorial management of William Maxwell, an immigrant from New Jersey, aided by his good wife Nancy. When a removal of the office was necessitated a wheelbarrow moved all the types, cases and stands which the pioneer establishment contained. The press was constructed entirely of wood, and in order that the paper might be impressed it was operated very much after the fashion that

country boys worked the cider press. In 1800 the *Centinel* was moved to Chillicothe, later the capital of the state, where the *Scioto Gazette* had already been founded (1796) by Nathaniel Willis, grandfather of N. P. Willis, the poet. The owner and editor of the *Scioto Gazette* was born (1755) in Boston, where he was an apprentice in the printing office of Benjamin Franklin. He was a conspicuous patriot, as might have been expected, and one of the participants in the Boston Tea Party, and in that city published and edited, during the American Revolution, the *Independent Chronicle.* At the close of the Revolution Willis moved from Boston to Virginia and established, at Martinsburg, the *Potomac Guardian.* He transferred his journalistic enterprise thence to Chillicothe, before the admission of Ohio as a state, and the paper he established, just mentioned, the *Scioto Gazette,* is still being issued, its publication never having been interrupted and it is therefore the oldest newspaper of continuous publications under the same name, west of the Allegheny mountains.

By 1810, when the state was but seven years of age, no less than sixteen newspapers were sending forth their hand-printed sheets. In those primitive days it was not at all unusual for the editor himself to set up his articles direct from the cases, without the intervention of pencil or pen copy, a sort of extemporaneous, brain to hand composition.

Time forbids our speaking adequately on the interesting theme of pioneer journalism in Ohio. One paper we must not fail to mention — the *Western Intelligencer,* founded by one James Kilbourn (1770-1850) in Worthington, a little time honored village, still abiding in undisturbed quietude, just north of Columbus. The first issue of this paper was in 1811 and a few years later it was transplanted to the present capital city and has there been continued as the *Ohio State Journal.* This centenary-aged sheet deserves mention, if for no other reason than that in its sanctum there labored at times many whose names subsequently became nationally distinguished; foremost among whom is the nestor of American journalism and the master of modern Anglo-Saxon literature — the most potent influence in the field of English letters — Mr. William Dean

Howells. The chairman of your entertainment committee, Mr. Merrill Watson, responsible for this evening's literary escapade, was once a writer on the *Ohio State Journal.*

To mention Ohio noted journalists individually would require the recalling of a host of names whose brilliant pens adorned their adopted calling — men whose daring thoughts, whose burning words molded public opinion, guided policies and even influenced foreign nations. We can only designate some of the more prominent Knights of the Quill, at the head of whom, in time if not in importance, was Charles Hammond (1772-1840) declared by Daniel Webster as "the greatest genius who ever wielded the political pen". But it was a federal pen, in the *Ohio Federalist,* — (1816-1821). Hammond was educated in the University of Virginia and he was the first official reporter of the Ohio Supreme Court, and he wrote, profusely, scholarly and always accurately, on law, politics and government. He was the first literary high-light of Ohio and lo! Hammond's name leads all the rest. And their name becomes legion: — E. D. Mansfield, Murat Halstead, Henry V. Boynton, Whitelaw Reid, James M. Comly, Donn Piatt, Samuel Medary, Samuel S. Cox, John A. Cockerill, and others of equal fame. Of those still in active service in the state of your adoption are William E. Curtis, William E. Lewis (brother of the late brilliant Alfred Henry), Albert Shaw, Julius J. Chambers and others. Many of these were more than journalists; they were authors, party leaders, diplomats; two by their heroic devotion to humanity have made themselves known wherever the oppressed have sought liberty. One is George Kennan, now resident of this city, whose graphic accounts of world travel are unequalled in similar descriptions and whose fearless expose of the prison and exile system of despotic Russia roused the indignation and the sympathy of the civilized world. The other was the late Januarius A. MacGahan, who reported the Franco-Prussian war for the *New York Herald* and the *London News.* His experience, in variety, during a few years of foreign life, paralleled the thrilling exploits in Africa of Henry M. Stanley. In 1876 MacGahan accompanied the Turkish army in its devastating assault upon Bulgaria, and his bold description of the

Mohammedan atrocities brought about world-wide results. His reports moved England to a burning revolt. Even Lord Beaconsfield, then the friend of Turkey, could not stem the tide. The following year MacGahan accompanied the Russian army in its campaign for the relief of Bulgaria and throughout that retrieved country the intrepid journalist was hailed as a national liberator and deliverer. The Bulgarians fairly worshiped this Ohio reporter as a demi-god. These two Ohio boys, Kennan and MacGahan, lighted the fires of justice and liberty in the autocratic countries of Europe; those fires since rekindled, in the present World War, set ablaze the cause of democracy throughout christendom.

Book making in its specified sense was preceded by the circulation of pamphlets, mainly, at first, in the eagerly sought and highly prized Almanac, which form of publication, in pioneer days, constituted not only the most popular but the most ubiquitous medium of information and entertainment. The Almanac was always the companion piece to the family Bible. Then followed the literary magazine, with its stories and reviews.

POETRY.

It is a sudden spring from journalism to poetry. The first one to appear in the role of poet, in the Northwest Territory, was Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr. He came to Ohio with the original settlers. He was a graduate of Yale College, studied law, became Supreme Judge, United States Senator, Governor of Ohio, and postmaster General. He delivered the July 4th (1789) address at Marietta, which placed him at once among the first orators of the Ohio country. He closed with an original poem, probably the first composed in the new country. Like much of the pioneer poetry his rounded rhymes "went on stilts and borrowed stilts at that". The style of early Ohio poets was either painfully labored and pedantic or ludicrously exclamatory and rhapsodical. But in primitive Ohio permanent letters took its first form in poesy. And in that field Ohio has produced much that is not only praiseworthy but lasting.

William D. Gallagher, himself a poet, published (1841) a volume of "Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West,"

containing two hundred and ten pieces, representing thirty-eight writers, most of whom resided in Ohio and won unfading recognition. William T. Coggswell's "Poets and Poetry of the Ohio Valley," issued twenty years later (1860) gives sketches of one hundred and fifty-two writers, twenty-nine of whom, belonging to Ohio, rank foremost among the early songsters of the west. Thirty years later (1890) the scholarly bibliographer of Ohio literature, William H. Venable, in his "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," tells, with a critical but glowing pen, the story of Ohio men and women of letters. It is a narrative unequaled by that of any other western state. Only recently Emerson Venable, son of the honored father, William H. Venable, has, in a delightful little volume, "Poets of Ohio," paid tribute to the Buckeye bards foremost in the field of letters. Poets are born, not made, says the phrenologist or some other variety of mental diagnostician. Scores have been artificially manufactured in Ohio, but not a few were born, and of these Mr. Emerson Venable makes note. We mention merely a few conspicuous representatives.

William D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, delineators of the early days; the Cary sisters, Alice and Phœbe, of Cincinnati, the former "pensive and tender," the latter "witty and gay," both wooed the muse as few have done and their ballads, lyrics and hymns will live with American letters. In middle life these noted sisters moved to New York, where their songs did not cease till both passed away within a few months of each other. Equally gifted were the Piatts, husband and wife; the former rising to the rank of the first order. At the age of ten he was residing in Columbus, and at fourteen was a typesetter on the *Ohio State Journal,* and there formed a life friendship with William Dean Howells, and together they published (1860) a volume entitled "Poems of Two Friends." John James Piatt passed to the great beyond only a few months since and in the July (1917) *Harper's Magazine,* his life-long appreciating and sympathetic friend, Mr. W. D. Howells, paid the departed a fitting tribute, saying: "His rare quality was not recognized at first in the west of his day; the spirit of his poetry was the first voluntary expression of the western life in the tone of the western earth and

sky and when most young American poets were trying to write Tennyson, Piatt was trying to write himself and in spite of the ruling ideal, doing it." Yet Mr. Howells compares him favorably, in special instances, with Tennyson and Wordsworth. In awarding meed to Mr. Piatt recognition of his wife must not be omitted, Sarah Morgan Bryan Piatt; her verses are scarcely less meritorious than those of her husband — indeed, the choice spirit and delicate form of her poems are, at times, unsurpassed. This unique couple were the Brownings — Robert and Elizabeth — of Ohio. It has been said that Robert Browning wrote and published poems for thirty years before they were read; the public patronage had to be "educated up" to the æsthetic and exalted sentiment which his poetry embodied. But the poetry of the early Ohioans was inspired by and appealed to the sentiments and experiences of their everyday life — they were in very fact "songs from the heart of things." Other such Ohio poets were: William Haines Lytle, a general who fell at Chickamauga, author of the classic and passionate "Anthony and Cleopatra"; Thomas Buchanan Reid, a genius in intellect, sculptor, painter, artist, poet, writer of the stirring "Sheridan's Ride," which ranks with Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade," and which William Cullen Bryant said would live with the immortal "Lochinvar."

Others whose sweet and pathetic lines appealed to the popular heart were: Coates Kinney, with the "Rain on the Roof," and the more pretentious effort "Ohio Centennial Ode," an eloquent and forceful recital of what is best and noblest in Ohio history, tradition and ideals, a poem worthy to be a companion-piece to Lowell's "Commemoration Ode." It was an Ohio poet, Benjamin Russell Hanby, who penned the pathetic lines, descriptive of the tragedy of slavery, beginning with "My Darling Nellie Gray," and another Ohioan, Daniel Decatur Emmett, was author of more than a hundred rhymes, mostly in the dialect of the colored race, including "Old Dan Tucker," "Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel," and the now national "Dixie"; it was inevitable that aside from the lyrics of pathos, patriotism and heroism of the pioneers, many literary songsters should find their theme in the anti-slavery sentiment of the two or three

decades preceding the civil war. Ohio's proximity to the land of the black bondsmen gave opportunity for the keen awakening of the sense of justice and freedom in the Ohio country, through which ran the main and most traveled routes of the "Underground Railroad." The first presidential candidate of the Liberty Party (1840) was from Ohio — James Birney. It was this state, too, that influenced though it did not originate the Beecher family. As early as 1826, Lyman Beecher became president of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, and there abided for some twenty years with his remarkably intellectual family. It was in the Queen City on the Ohio that Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote and produced her first book, "The Mayflower," and it was there also she received her inspiration and material for the masterly "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Thus it was that in ante-bellum days Ohio was surcharged with the hatred of slavery, and the inextinguishable spirit of liberty. In this connection too, it is interesting to note that Emmett, born and deceased in Ohio, composed and made public his "Dixie," during the very days that John Brown, long time resident of Ohio, was marshalling his fanatic and Quixotic squad for the attack on Harper's Ferry. Ohio moreover was the first state to open the doors of a white college to the colored man and the first state to establish a college exclusively for his education. It was therefore logical and in a measure compensatory that Ohio should give to American and Anglo-Saxon literature the greatest poet of the colored race, Paul Laurence Dunbar, recently deceased. His parents were born in slavery and escaped to Ohio; he was born and educated in Dayton. Of him Mr. Howells said: "He was the only man of pure African blood and of American civilization to feel the negro life æsthetically and express it lyrically." He literally played upon the harp of a thousand strings, to the sentiments and emotions of his song and music-loving race. His books are several "Lyrics of Love and Laughter," "Lyrics of Sunshine and Shadow," "Lyrics of Lowly Life," etc. Children are his delighted readers.

In your Metropolitan city there resides one born in a little Ohio hamlet, more than three score years ago, yet the fire of her poetic genius burns undimmed; she is Edith Matilda

Thomas, and the lines of her lyric art are eagerly sought by the leading magazines, perused and praised by countless readers throughout our land.

We reluctantly leave the attractive realm of poetry in which there are so many we have not time to mention. One more, however, merits a word; Edmund Vance Cooke, Canadian born but Ohio reared, now of Cleveland; several modest, readable volumes comprise his tribute to the muses; now his pen is tuned to the highest pitch of the patriotism of the day, and he stirringly pleads for democracy and humanity.

PROSE AUTHORS.

Book-making of course quickly followed the pioneer newspaper. It was inevitable that in a primitive society of such intellectual ancestry and educational predictions, in a new and novel field of environment, the fertile minds and facile pens should find stimulus.

Literary academies and societies and private schools antedated and supplemented the community and later public institutions of instruction. Authors appeared in various quarters of the new state and in all fields of prose production; fiction, biography, science, history, in fact no department was wanting. Of the making of many books there is no end applies readily to the early, later and present resident of Ohio. We confine our notice to a few conspicuously typical representatives. William H. Venable, previously mentioned, litterateur, bibliophile, poet, romancer and bibliographer; his most characteristic works being "The Dream of Empire," and the "Buckeye Boyhood." His son, Emerson Venable, we have already noted. In the same all-around class was Mr. A. P. Russell, essayist, poet, man of letters of the most delicate and delightful nature, the Ralph Waldo Emerson of Ohio. Among the writers of the present generation, is one whose memory should not go unmentioned in this circle, the late Alfred Henry Lewis, equally brilliant as a journalist and an author. Here too belongs James Ball Naylor, poet and novelist; his romances, semi-historical, are, in subject, native and to the manor born; in their pages we live anew our early and epic days. Dr. Naylor covers the

two professions of Aesculapius and the Muses, we may regard him as the Oliver Wendell Holmes of Ohio. I have never tested the quality of his pills, but of the flavor of his poetry we shall have a taste in this evening's symposium — my prophecy is your verdict will be that the mantle of James Whitcomb Riley has fallen upon the inimitable bard of the Buckeye state.

It goes without saying that Mr. W. D. Howells is the dean of American letters; author of more than eighty volumes in poetry, drama, fiction, romance, history, travel, biography, criticism; all topics indeed are his own; with a graphic and gracious pen he has portrayed our national life, in a clear, clean, simple, elegant style unsurpassed in English literature.

From necessity we pass over innumerable novelists to mention a few in special fields of thought and study; literary discussion and criticism; what might be styled the high lights of intellectual culture. In this none excel — though many have forgotten — Denton Jacques Snider, one of the lecturers at the famous Concord School of Philosophy, (1880) and whose expository and critical works on Shakespeare, Dante and Goethe rank second to none; with him might be classed James E. Murdoch, actor, orator, elocutionist, author and authority on the stage and its literature, especially upon the plays of Shakespeare and notably Hamlet and Macbeth.

The historian in Ohio is on his native heath; the very atmosphere is historical; for here we have had history in the making: James Ford Rhodes, William M. Sloane, Rufus King, Henry Howe, Henry W. Elson, Elroy M. Avery, Isaac J. Cox, Daniel J. Ryan, Arthur M. Schlessinger, William H. Siebert, Clement R. Martzolf, and scores of others of former and recent years; Mr. Archer B. Hulbert has traveled an hitherto unexplored filed and in many scholarly volumes has trailed "Historic Highways," narrating the evolution of our thoroughfares from the buffalo path in the primitive forest to the Indian trail, to the frontiersman's bridle and foothpaths, to the corduroy road, to the government highway, and the railroad routes; his works are invaluable.

In military memoirs no state is quite our equal, as is evidenced by the memoirs of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Keifer,

Brinkerhoff, and many another general in the Civil War; nor is it our privilege to even mention the biographies of or by notable Ohioans, or numerous autobiographies by distinguished citizens of our state.

But beyond the ordinary and the unusual in subject-matter, Ohio is to be credited with many oddities and originalities in the field of letters.

It was one of your New York scholars, Ohio born and bred, Isaac Kaufman Funk, founder of the *Literary Digest,* who put forth the profoundest studies and investigations in the occult and psychic speculations, in "The Widow's Mite," "The Psychic Riddle," and others.

A purely Ohio growth was the most original work "Etidorpha," or the "End of the World," equal in daring and fascinating imagination to the dreams of a Dumas, by John Uri Lloyd, of Cincinnati, also author of "Stringtown on the Pike." "Nathan Burke," by Mary Stanberry Watts, has been decreed "the greatest Ohio novel" yet written. Taking the "roaring forties," as one reviewer puts it, she has given a wonderful picture of the Ohio events and life of that time and her production has been pronounced not unequal to the masterly portrayals of Thackeray. Burton Egbert Stevenson, now resident of Chillicothe, is responsible for many delightful volumes of fictional life, of travel and mysterious plot, two or three of the latter quite as fascinating and thrilling as the weird stories of Conan Doyle.

But Ohio has a museum of curiosities well worth the price of admission; works in new fields of adventure and discovery. One was by John S. Rarey, entitled the "Modern Art of Taming Wild Horses," — the world is anxiously awaiting some one to write a treatise on the "Art of Taming Wild Automobiles." Mr. Rarey was world traveled and world famed; he performed before the leading crowned heads of Europe. Rarey antedated and presaged and prepared the way for Henry Bergh and the Humane Society. He was a genius and his career reads like a veritable fairy tale. His book was translated into many foreign languages and 15,000 French copies were sold in Paris.

In very recent years we had some trouble with the Poles —

Arctic and Antarctic — especially the former. You may recall it. But it was an Ohio author who first tackled this cold subject — John Cleves Symmes (1780-1829); he saw service in the war of 1812 and then made the scientific world "sit up and take notice" by publishing (1820) a book with the uninviting and perplexing title, "Concentric Spheres," proving that the earth is hollow and habitable within as well as without. This was emphatically giving "inside information," that upset the theory of numerous anti-optimists that "the world is stuffed with sawdust." The aqueduct facilities — according to Symmes — permitted ships to pass through. Symmes and his hollow-earth followers actually petitioned Congress (1822) for an appropriation to prove his theory and sail ships through, and why not? All seeming impossibilities come to pass in time. When it was first proposed to build a steamship to cross the Atlantic a professor of mathematics at Cambridge University, London, wrote a pamphlet proving that it was impossible, because a boat could not be built large enough to carry the coal required to generate the steam to propel the engine. The first steamboat from England to America carried the first edition of the professor's pamphlets to this country! And when later an appropriation was asked of Congress for $25,000 to construct the first telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore one undeluded member arose and ridiculing the utter nonsense of the whole telegraphic idea said he presumed it would be next in order for some "fool theorist" to ask for money to build a flying machine; and of course everybody laughed; which all goes to prove that the dream of one age is the realization of the next. Symmes may be right, the poles may be temporarily frozen over, and if thawed out give us another open sea for submarine pastimes.

The years 1840-60 were the prolific period of the dime novel and the yellow-back literature. Ohio opened the flood gates. Edward Z. C. Judson, known as Ned Buntline (Cincinnati, 1844) started the *"Western Literary Magazine,"* dedicated and devoted to this lurid, youthful literature; certainly he was no dim light in Ohio letters; his income was $100,000 a year, some money for those days, almost enough to permit him to leave Ohio and reside in New York. Another Ohio writer in melo-

dramatic lines was Emerson Bennett, second only in success to Ned Buntline. Oh, that was indeed the golden age of "blood and thunder" in Ohio, nor could any other state equal it in color and sound.

But Ohio started things in other and more serious directions. Yes, it was Delia Salter Bacon (1811-89) native of Ohio, — Talmadge, Summit county — that instigated the Baconian theory that Shakespeare was Lord Francis Bacon incognito. Her book was entitled "Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded," published in London (1857) with a preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne. She argued that the great plays could not have been written by that "Booby Shakespeare," as she irreverently styled the immortal bard. On her trip to England in this crusade for the impaling of Shakespeare's glory and the enthronement of the learned Bacon, whom the poet Pope declared was "The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," Miss Bacon carried a letter of introduction from Emerson to Carlyle. The dyspeptic sage of Chelsea, in his grim irony laughed at the "new idea," which was destined to create the most curious literary controversy and the greatest "battle of the books" that has ever been witnessed. *En passant* I bring you the latest item in the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. After my arrival in your good city this noon, I spent an hour or two in the vast and magnificent, two million volume, New York City library, and as a test of its amplitude called for Delia Bacon's book, a copy of which I heretofore had never been able to find. To my delight it was promptly forthcoming. Pasted on the initial fly-leaf was the written statement by the librarian that when the combined public library was first opened for use, the first book called for was this volume. On the opposite blank page was written, in the handwriting of some Bacon devotee, this poetical tribute;

> "Ohio! Greetings! Gifted daughter, thine;
> Has e'en thy brilliant sons surpassed; Enshrine.
> In rev'rent tribute, Delia Bacon's name.
> Out-live, 'twill, e'en our marked 'Hall of Fame'."

But less us pass from the "grave" to the "gay". Some people do not class Delia Bacon with the humorists, but Ohio

had them and has them now; those funny fellows. The Buckeye has ever possessed in large measure that saving grace, the sense of humor. No other state has done more to make the world laugh at any mortal thing or to offer the "fellow of infinite jest." The Ohioan knows a joke when he sees it. You do not have to chisel it into his cranium. These merry chaps deserve a brief hearing. Wit and humor is native and to the manor born in Ohio. Perhaps Samuel Sullivan Cox was second to none as the all-round literary Buckeye humorist — nicknamed "Sunset Cox" for his glowing description — in the *Columbus Statesman* — of the globe of day as it sank one evening beyond the Scioto to its couch of night. This effulgent editorial (May 19, 1853), which instantly dowered Mr. Cox with national fame, was a pen picture equal in gorgeous glow to the pigment colored canvas of a Turner. Cox appreciated the wisdom of humor and the humor of wisdom. He was endowed with the wit of Sidney Smith and the rare descriptive powers of Twain. His "Why We Laugh," if not the first, is perhaps the best word on the philosophy of man's happy side. His "Buckeye Abroad," is a companion piece to Bayard Taylor's "Views Afoot," and his volumes respectively entitled "Winter Sunbeams," and "Orient Sunbeams," remind us that in this world of woe and vale of tears the sunny side of life is our relief and redemption. He would not erase the self-written epitaph of the poet Gay:

> "Life is a jest and all things show it;
> I thought so once and now I know it."

One of the most prolific comic writers of his day was A. Minor Griswold, known the country over as "The Fat Contributor," who made his jesting fame as reporter on the *Cincinnati Enquirer,* and left a wake of laughter behind him as he toured and lectured through the states. Elder New York must remember his inimitable stories and sketches, for he subsequently wrote many for the New York dailies and was a welcome guest in the Ohio Society of New York.

David Ross Locke, the Petroleum V. Nasby of the *Toledo Blade;* born in your state of New York, but adopted son of

Ohio, declared by Secretary Chase as exercising a most potent effect in helping in the trying days of the Civil War to save the Union by hurling his shafts of ridicule, sarcasm and humor at the slackers and copperheads of the North. Mr. Boutwell, holding high official position in Washington, during Lincoln's administration and later in Grant's cabinet, said in a public speech shortly after the Civil War, "The rebellion was put down by three forces; the army and the navy of the United States and the letters of Petroleum V. Nasby." Of all the publications during the war, none, says Charles Sumner, had such a charm for Lincoln as the droll and inimitable "letters" from the Postmaster of "Confedrit X Roads (which is in the Stait uv Kentucky)." As the letters appeared the president read every one of them and kept them all within reach for mental relaxation. Mr. Sumner, in his introduction to Mr. Locke's collected papers, quotes the saying of President Lincoln — "For the genius to write these things I would gladly give up my office."

There is still another whose "quips and gibes" likewise gave comfort and cheer to the heavy-burdened heart of the Great Emancipator. You have already guessed his name, Artemus Ward, in reality Charles F. Browne; he was physically born in Maine, but funnily in Ohio, where he discovered his rich vein of golden humor while reporter (1860) on the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Artemus Ward asked regarding his "principles" — answered, "Principles, I ain't got no principles, I am in the show business." It was Ward of all other Ohio jokesmiths that drove his wit and humor into the understanding and appreciation of a London audience. They saw "the point" at first sight, although he precautiously announced that if any one of his auditors did not see the hit and would call at his hotel the next morning he would furnish an explanatory diagram.

It was on July 23, 1862, in the dark and discouraging days of the Civil War when President Lincoln summarily called a cabinet meeting. Secretary Chase, dignified and stately, was the first to arrive. The President was leaning back in his awkward, ungainly, unconventional manner, intently reading a book. Looking up he said, "Chase did you ever read this book?" "What is it," asked the Secretary. "Artemus Ward," replied the

President: "Let me read you the chapter entitled 'War Wurx in Albany,' and he began reading and laughing while the other members of the cabinet, one by one, made their appearance. At last Stanton, the iron-hearted Secretary of War, bluntly interrupted the President with the statement that he was in a great hurry and if any business was to be done he would like to have it attended to at once; whereupon Mr. Lincoln laid the book down upon his desk, opened a drawer, took out a paper and said: "Gentlemen, I have called you together to notify you what I have determined to do. I want no advice." He then read the first draft of the proclamation of emancipation. Seward thought there ought to be something about God at the close of it, to which Lincoln replied: "Put it in, it won't hurt it." It was then agreed that the President should wait for a victory of the Union arms before issuing the proclamation to the world. Mr. Chase was the last to go, and as he passed through the door he glanced back and saw Mr. Lincoln had taken up the book and was again engrossed in the "Wax Wurx at Albany."*

In Ohio you may recall the "divide," that elevation that runs across the northern-middle section of the state; above it the rivers debouche into Lake Erie, below the divide the streams emerge into the Beautiful River. This ridge passes through Richland County. On this elevation, in Springfield Township, only a short distance apart, are located the Palmer Springs, the insignificant but veritable headwaters of the Sandusky, and a little murky pond from which the Mohican, a branch of the Muskingum, takes its course. Midway between these head-

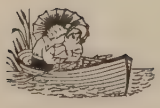
*After the delivery of the address one of the auditors introduced himself to the speaker (Randall) as Mr. David Homer Bates, who was telegraph operator in the White House, during Mr. Lincoln's presidency and who assisted the president in preparing the first draft of the emancipation proclamation. Mr. Bates assured the speaker that the incident related occurred practically as given; though in his volume entitled "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office" Mr. Bates, the author, states that Mr. Chase in his diary of that date says "that Lincoln read to the Cabinet from Artemus Ward's humorous account of the 'High-handed Outrage at Utica' and enjoyed it very much as did the others, except Stanton, of course." The only question is as to the title of the chapter which Mr. Lincoln read. The authorities vary, but the main facts of the anecdote are not controverted.

waters, on a little crest of ground, is a farmer's spacious barn, so placed that when the down-pouring waters leave its peaked roof, the flow from one side runs off to the Sandusky and that from the other side finds its way to the Mohican. Literally, therefore, as the eloquent Garfield once related in an address, using the fact just stated, "A little bird standing on the ridge of that barn, can by the flutter of its tiny wings cast a drop of rain into the Gulf of St. Lawrence or the Gulf of Mexico."

And so may we not use this curious physical fact as a simile of the source and extending influence of Ohio literature; from its early beginnings and later ample and splendid development it has spread its potent spirit throughout the field of American letters.

In the words of Coates Kinney, in the Ohio Centennial Ode:

> "Our learning has not soared, but it has spread,
> Ohio's intellects are sharpened tools
> To deal with daily fact and daily bread.
> The starry peaks of knowledge in thin air
> Her culture has not climbed, but on the plain,
> In whatsoever is to do or dare
> With mind or matter, there behold her reign."



SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

[The *Cleveland Herald and Gazette,* of June 3, 1840, printed an extract from a speech delivered by the brave Col. John O'Fallon, at the raising of the log-cabin in St. Louis. This was during the famous "Log Cabin Campaign," summer and fall of 1840. The speech reflecting the political and public sentiment of the time, will be read with interest.—EDITOR.]

Colonel O'Fallon — who it may be stated, delivered his speech from the ramparts of a miniature Fort Meigs — was an aid of Gen. Harrison, and bore no inglorious part in the scenes he describes. How the testimony of such a gallant, honorable gentleman puts to shame the slanders of the Administration papers and orators:

It was on the first day of February, 1813, that the army of Gen. Harrison, pitched their tents upon, and adjacent to the ground where Fort Meigs was erected, and commenced the construction of a stockade, which was afterwards surrounded by a ditch and embankments, embracing several acres of ground. The snow was deep upon the ground, the weather extremely cold; and although the troops were raw and greatly unaccustomed to such severe exposure, their ardor never abated. Under many deprivations, they performed their several duties with the zeal and alacrity, which springs from the soldier's deep confidence in the tried skill and courage of his commander, and his warm attachment to his person. Early in April, 1813, the garrison of Fort Meigs numbered about 1000 effective men—two brigades of militia having been discharged in consequence of the termination of their period of service. This fact being early ascertained by the British general commanding at Malden, an expedition against Fort Meigs was immediately projected. His army of British and Indians was near 4000 strong, and he gave his Indian allies the most confident assurance that he could carry the Fort by storm, should his invitation to Gen. Harrison to surrender

with the honors of war, be refused. He had a heavy park of artillery, and this, with the imagined weakness of our defences, he fancied would give him a ready and easy conquest of the Fort. And it was even stipulated between the British general and the celebrated Tecumseh, that, should the garrison be taken, and Gen. Harrison remain alive, the American commander was to be delivered to the Indian, who designed to wreak upon him his savage vengeance for the death of his many braves and warriors who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe. Vain calculation! Vain, this premeditated purpose of base and barbarous malice! The God of battles was with the American general, and he was reserved by a wise and far-seeing Providence, to be in after times, the proud, the high blessing, the bright prospect, the noble deliverer of his country.

Fort Meigs was invested and cannonaded with bomb shells and red hot balls for seven days, during all which time Gen. Harrison was ever at the point of danger, planning and directing the defence, and his manner, his voice, his sagacious conduct, and his undaunted courage inspiring his officers and men with an abiding confidence of ultimate victory. Gen. Proctor, was, at length driven to confess that he was contending with a commander whose courage and military talents were equal to any emergency; and despairing of redeeming the pledge he had given to his army, to make an easy conquest of the garrison, and being informed by intercepted communications, that Gen. Harrison was in daily expectation of reinforcements, to effect that by stratagem, which he now despaired of accomplishing by open warfare, he calculated by a timely and well concerted deception to decoy into an ambuscade, a large detachment of our garrison — then scarcely sufficient effectually to man the defences. Should he succeed in this, the ready sacrifice of the Fort would inevitably follow. Suddenly, a brisk and sharp firing was heard in a thick woods near the Fort, through which the road passed to the interior. The alarm strongly represented, as it was designed to do, an Indian engagement. Shortly afterwards, loud wailing and groans were heard, as would naturally proceed from wounded and dying men. The whole garrison at once concluded, that an attack was made upon our brothers in arms on

their way to our assistance. Not so, however, with Gen. Harrison. He alone was incredulous. Many of his officers waited upon him, and almost demanded permission to fly to the rescue. For a time the greatest excitement prevailed in the garrison at the idea of the sacrifice of their gallant comrades, without any attempt to save them. Gen. Harrison's sagacity caught the design of the enemy in a moment, and it required the exercise of all his powerful influence and authority to subdue the impetuosity of his officers and men, and to convince them of this cunning device of the enemy, planned for their destruction.

About two o'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, 1813, two officers came expresses from Gen. Green Clay, who had passed the Indian line, under cover of the night, at the most imminent hazard of their lives. They brought information that Gen. Clay with his brigade of Kentucky militia, was encamped on the river, a few miles above the Fort, to which he would proceed early that morning. This was most cheering intelligence to Gen. Harrison; and with this addition to his force, he determined at once to commence offensive operations, by attacking the enemy at every assailable point, dislodge them from their position, destroy their batteries, and thus terminate the seige of Fort Meigs.

With this view, two officers were immediately despatched to General Clay with orders to land about a mile above the Fort, on the opposite side of the river, a detachment of 800 men under one of his most trustworthy officers. To move upon the British batteries, to carry them, spike the cannon, destroy the ammunition and carriages, and immediately upon the accomplishment of this, to cross the river to the Fort, under cover of our artillery.

The brave Col. Dudley did, in a most gallant manner, take the British batteries and spiked some pieces of their cannon; but, too confident of his own strength, and ignorant of the enemy, to be soon made available, he was induced in violation of his instructions to occupy the ground taken until the enemy had time to collect their forces in an adjacent woods, into which he was cunningly enticed by a partial firing of a few Indians, where after a bloody conflict, the largest part of his command was taken.

Gen. Harrison displayed, in the judgment of all his officers, the highest order of military talent during the seige — for his efficient plan of defence, by traverses through and across the encampment, as a cover for his men — the manner of protecting his magazine, the object of constant attack — as well as for the plan, direction, and most opportune execution of the grand object of the two sorties, made by detachments from the garrison of Fort Meigs on the 5th of May, 1812.

The first sortie was directed against that portion of the Indians, and Canadian militia, investing the south and west end of the Fort, for the purpose of drawing them from the river, whilst Gen. Clay's detachment was effecting their entrance into the Fort.

The second sortie commenced its movement just at the moment of the appearance on the opposite side, of Dudley's detachment, advancing upon the British batteries, having the double effect of engaging the Indians and preventing them from crossing the river to co-operate against Dudley, and accomplishing the destruction of the enemy's batteries on the south-east side of the river.

On no occasion during the last war, were greater honors acquired than by Gen. Harrison, who conceived and directed, and the gentlemen who executed his orders in these two brilliant sorties.

In both engagements our troops, whilst utterly exposed, advanced upon and repulsed the enemy sheltered as he was by his position, and outnumbering our men 4 to 1.

In the last sortie our men marched as firmly as veterans, to the very mouths of the British cannon, receiving unmoved, their constant fire of grape shot, accompanied by a most galling and destructive fire from the thousands of Indians and militia on our front and flanks. Altho, a large number of our men fell and perished upon the bed of honor, their surviving comrades never paused in their forward march, until the batteries, with a large portion of the British regulars in charge of them, were captured, and the whole Indian and Militia force was dispersed and routed. Thus ended the memorable seige of Fort Meigs. * * * * * *

Opportunities have been afforded me of knowing Gen. Harrison in all the relations of life, as an officer and as a man, and of being enabled to form a pretty correct estimate of his civil and military office. I know him to be open and brave in his disposition, of active and industrious habits, uncompromising in his principles, above all guile and intrigue, and a pure, honest, noble minded man, with a heart overflowing with warm and generous sympathies for his fellow men. As a military man, his daring, chivalrous courage inspired his men with confidence, and spread dismay and terror to his enemies. In all his plans he was successful. In all his engagements he was victorious. He has filled all the various civil and military offices committed to him by his country, with sound judgment and spotless fidelity. In every situation, he was cautious and prudent, firm and ener getic, and his decisions always judicious. His acquirements as a scholar are varied and extensive; his principles as a statesman, sound, pure and republican.

In addition to the above article, the same paper, of the same date, prints the following:

A CURIOUS DOCUMENT.

A gentleman of the highest respectability, says the editor of the *Louisville Journal*, has sent us the annexed document, which he vouches for as genuine. It was handed to him by one of the signers of it, a half breed Indian and a relative of Tecumseh:

COUNCIL BLUFF, 23d March, 1840.

TO GENERAL HARRISON'S FRIENDS.— The other day, several newspapers were brought to us, and peeping over them, to our astonishment we find the Hero of the late war called coward.— This would have surprised the tall braves, Tecumseh of the Shawnees and Round Head and Walk in the Water of the Wyandots. If the departed could rise again, they would say to the white man, that General Harrison was the terror of the late tomahawkers. The first time we got acquainted with General Harrison, it was at the council fire of the late old Tempest (General Wayne) at Greenville on the head waters of the Wabash, 1796. From that period until 1811, we had many friendly smokes with him, but from

1812 we changed our tobacco smoke into powder smoke — then we found Gen. Harrison was a brave warrior and humane to his prisoners — as reported to us by two of Tecumseh's young men who was taken in the fleet with Captain Barclay on the 10th September, 1813 — and on the Thames, where, he routed both the British and red men, and where he showed his courage and his humanity to his prisoners both White and Red — report of Adam Brown and family taken the morning of the battle, 5th October, 1813: We are the only two surviving of that day in this country. We hope the good White men will protect the name of General Harrison.

We remain your friends forever,

CHAMBLEE, *Aid to Tecumseh,*
B. CLADWELL, *Captain.*

OHIO IN THE WAR OF 1812.

FIRST NEWSPAPER IN THE WEST RESERVE.

[The first newspaper published in the Western Reserve was the "TRUMP OF FAME" edited by Thomas D. Webb. It was a weekly, published at Warren, Trumbull County, the first issue being dated June 16, 1812—The date of the declaration of war by Congress. David Fleming was the printer. As the first volume covers the year 1812, the first half year of the war, it is doubly interesting as giving information at first hand concerning the proceedings in Ohio and the action of the Ohio troops in the contest. From an original copy we herewith produce excerpts from the volume of that paper, which we regard as sufficiently valuable to be permanently preserved. The articles concerning General Hull, his surrender of Detroit, and the attacks upon his loyalty are specially deserving of notice as showing the popular view entertained at that time. It should be remembered, however, that Hull was subsequently officially exonerated.—E. O. R., Editor.]

The first issue contained the following:

It will be recollected, by most of our readers, that two men were murdered some time ago by the Indians, on Pipe creek, Huron county. Since that time, two Indians of the Chippaway tribe, who committed the murder have been taken. One of whom has been convicted at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, and now awaits the sentence of the law; which is to be carried into execution, at the latter place on the 26 inst. The other, who was arrested by the Indians of that neighborhood shot himself while in their custody, before he could be delivered to the whites.

We are informed by a respectable traveller from Huron county that considerable interest is making by the Indians of the Chipawa tribe, to procure the pardon of the Indian, now under sentence of death at Cleveland. A council has been held by the chiefs of that tribe, together with some other Indians to determine what course of measures should be pursued, to procure his release. A proposition was made to attempt his release by force; this was rejected, and it was determined that his

father, who is a principal chief of the Chipawa tribe, should make personal application to Governor Meigs for his release.

The Indians offer, as a condition of his discharge, to cede to the United States a tract of two hundred acres of land; bounded East by the Fire lands, extending Westerly to Sandusky river, and up the river as far as the United States reservation; also to give up the promised reward of eighty dollars for the apprehension of the other Indian, to which they were entitled. It is said both by Indians, and Whites, that this murder was committed in consequence of a private quarrel; it is also asserted by the Indians, that Semo the Indian, who killed himself, was a malicious fellow, who drew the other in some measure against his will, into a participation in the perpetration of the murder.

We are also told, that the militia ordered to Detroit, left Dayton, on the 1st of the present month and that three companies are to be stationed at Sandusky Bay. It may be safely concluded from the conduct of the Indians living on the borders of the Connecticut western reserve, and from the cantonment of so many troops at Sandusky, and Detroit, that little or no danger is to be apprehended from them in any part of the Reserve.

Trump of Fame, Warren, Ohio, June 24, 1812.

ARMY OF OHIO.

DAYTON, May 28.

The troops have encamped on the western bank of Mad River, three miles from town. On Monday last, Governor Meigs surrendered the command to Brigadier General Hull. We have been furnished with the following account of the proceedings of the day, which, as it meets with our entire approbation, we insert in the place of any statement of our own.

[COMMUNICATION.]

CAMP MEIGS, WESTERN BANK OF MAD RIVER,

May 16, 1812.

The exertions used by Governor Meigs in collecting the corps now assembled in this camp, gives him a just claim to

the undivided applause of every man attached to the interest or honor of his country. With unprecedented celerity, he has collected from almost every part of this state, fifteen hundred men, and organized them into three regiments. At first unfurnished with money, and merely holding the executive requisition, he proceeded to arrange and obey the call. The reiterated injuries and insults which our country has received, had awakened the feelings and aroused the indigation of the great body of the people. The public pulse beat high. The spirit of our citizens was raised. It did not evaporate in empty declamation, or in idle parade. At the first signal, the young men of our state, men of character and standing, prepared to abandon the security and comforts of domestic life, and to encounter the dangers, privations, and difficulties of an Indian expedition. They prepared to maintain, by arms, the fair inheritance transmitted to them, and to demonstrate that the interminable forests of the west could neither weaken their attachment, nor divide their affection from the government of their country. The duties of the executive then became arduous and important. On him developed the duty of organizing all, of providing for all. To him every application was made. The arms and accoutrements, the camp equipage and stores were all to be provided. The public arsenal at Newport was almost empty. There were no rifles, no knapsacks, no blankets, no tents, no bullets nor moulds. In fact, nothing but arms and cartridge boxes, many of which were good for nothing. In this situation the Governor made every exertion, and eventually succeeded in placing the detachment in a situation for marching.

Brigadier General Hull had been selected by the general government to conduct the expedition. He arrived in Dayton a few days since, and yesterday Governor Meigs surrendered to him the command. The regiments of Cols. Findlay and Cass, were encamped in a prairie three miles from Dayton.

The corps, after a review of parade, formed a close column when Governor Meigs addressed them as follows:

Officers and soldiers of the First Army of Ohio:

Collected suddenly and rapidly from various parts of the state, you have manifested a zeal worthy the character of a free people. You will soon be completely organized, and I trust that harmony will forever continue. Already you have made considerable advances in discipline, you will improve; it will soon become easy, familiar, and agreeable. *Subordination* is the soul of discipline; order, safety, and victory are its results. Honour consists in an honourable discharge of duty, whatever may be the rank. Respect each other according to your stations. Officers, be to your men as parents to children. Men, regard your officers as fathers. You will soon march, My heart will always be with you. The prayers of all citizens will attend you.

By direction of the President of the United States, I have so far organized and marched you; in his name I thank you.

I feel a great satisfaction in knowing that you are to be placed under the command and guidance of Brigadier General Hull, a distinguished officer, of revolutionary experience; who being Superintendent of Indian affairs, and Chief Magistrate of the Territory to which you are destined, was happily selected for the service. His influence and authority there, will enable him to provide for your convenience. I pray that each may so conduct, that when you return to the embraces of your friends and relations, they may be proud to salute you, as one who had, honourably, belonged to the First Army of Ohio.

The Second Army is organizing, and will follow if necessary.

Our frontier must be protected from savage barbarity, our rights maintained and our wrongs avenged.

Go then! Fear not! Be strong, quit yourselves like men, and may the GOD of ARMIES be your shield and buckler.

After which General Hull delivered the following address:

Patriotic Officers and Soldiers of the State of Ohio:

The manner which his Excellency, Governor Meigs, has delivered over to my command, the part of the army, has excited sensations I strongly feel, but which it is difficult for me to express.

His great exertions, and the talents he has displayed in assembling, organizing, disciplining, and preparing, in every respect, for actual service, so respectable a military force, are known to you, and will be fully known to his country; this knowledge of his conduct will be his highest eulogium. Long may he live, and long may he adorn his elevated station.

The crisis now has arrived, when our country has deemed it necesary to call into the field, her patriotic sons. The spirit which has been manifested on this occasion, is highly honorable to the officers and soldiers, who compose this army and the section of the union to which you belong. You have exhibited an example to the elder part of the country, worthy of imitation. Citizens, distinguished for talents and wealth, have made a voluntary tender of their services, to defend the violated rights of the nation. Such men are entitled to the fair inheritance, which was purchased by the valour and blood of their fathers. A country, with such a defense has nothing to fear. In any possible exigency, it is environed with a bulwark of safety. To officers and soldiers, who have engaged in the public service with such honorable and patriotic motives, it is unnecessary to urge the importance of regularity and discipline, or the necessity of subordination and obedience to orders. The same spirit which induced you voluntarily to engage in the service of your country, will animate you in the discharge of your duties.

With patience you will submit to privations and fatigues incident to a military life, and if you should be called to meet danger in the field, you will manifest the sincerity of your engagements, by the firmness and bravery of your conduct. In marching through a wilderness, memorable for savage barbarity, you will remember the causes by which that barbarity has been heretofore excited. In viewing the ground stained with the blood of your fellow citizens, it will be impossible to suppress the feelings of indignation. Passing by the ruins of a *fortress* erected in our territory by a foreign nation, in times of profound peace, and for the express purpose of exciting the savages to hostility and supplying them with the means of conducting a barbarous war must remind you of that system of

oppression and injustice which that nation has continually practiced, and which the spirit of an indignant people can no longer endure. If it is impossible that time should obliterate the remembrance of past transactions, what will be the impressions on the present occasion? The wrongs of the same nation have been continually accumulating, and have at length compelled our country to put on the armour of safety, and be prepared to avenge the injuries which have been inflicted.

In a few days, you will be joined by a body of troops of the United States' army. Among them, you will have the pleasure of seeing the Fourth Regiment of infantry, the gallant heroes of Tippecanoe. They will act by your sides, in your approaching campaign, and while they will be ambitious to maintain, and if possible, to increase the glory they have already acquired, your conduct will be stimulated by the splendor of their example, and you will be inspired with ambition to acquire laurels, at least as brilliant as those they deservedly wear. That harmony and friendship may pervade this army, and that glory and fame may attend it in all its movements, are wishes, in which I am confident you will all heartily join.

Col. Cass, after a few moments of previous consultation with Col. Findlay, addressed the troops in the following style of appropriate and well deserved encomium.

Fellow Soldiers:

Let us all uncover and give three cheers, as a testimonial of the respect which we feel for the talents, zeal, and patriotism of our worthy Governor, so eminently displayed in the organization of this army. We who best know, can best appreciate the difficulties he has had to encounter; but all can see the success which has ultimately attended his exertions. We leave him with sentiments of unfeigned respect, and may the overruling hand of Providence protect him and us, our beloved families and our injured country.

Three united acclamations, given with zeal and alacrity, testified the accordance of the whole corps in the sentiments advanced, and the opinion which they entertained for the merits of their chief magistrates.

Col. Cass then proceeded. And let us also my friends, again uncover and give three cheers, as a tribute of respect due to the revolutionary veteran, who has now taken the command; of those, who fought and bled in achieving our independence, but few are left. The cold hand of death has laid them in the grave. They have gone to rejoin their beloved commander and their illustrious compatriots, in the realms of bliss. Let us be grateful that some are left to conduct us through the perilous crisis which is approaching, and still more grateful that we have one to conduct us through this expedition, whose talents, character, and service entitle him to a distinguished place in the affections and confidence of his countrymen.

The regiment unanimously gave their tribute of respect and proved, by three cheering shouts, the united confidence which they felt in their commander-in-chief.

The column was then displayed, and the parade dismissed.

Col. McArthur's regiment encamped in the rear of Dayton, had previously received the same addresses from Governor Meigs and General Hull.

Col. McArthur returned last evening to his camp, and will join the grand camp with his regiment immediately.

[On Tuesday General Hull pitched his tents in Camp Meigs, on Western bank of Mad River, and on the same day the United States Flag was hoisted. At the raising of the Flag, the troops formed a hollow square around the standard, expressive of their determination not to surrender it, but with their lives. If they should have occasion to try their prowess in the field, we trust they will not forget the solemn pledge. After the standard was erected, Col. Cass delivered the following short, but pertinent and impressive address.]

Fellow Soldiers:

The standard of your Country is displayed. You have rallied round it to defend her rights, and avenge her injuries. May it wave protection to our friends, and defiance to our enemies. And should we ever meet in the hostile field, I doubt

not but the Eagle of liberty, which it bears, will be found more than a match for the Lion of England.

ZANESVILLE, June 3.

Col. Munson, who is the governor's aid, arrived here on Sunday with orders to raise three volunteer companies to march immediately for the protection of our south-western frontiers.

The Shawanee prophet, it is said is moving on with his whole force towards Greenville, the most frontier post in this state.

Sixteen hundred volunteer militia are to take the place of the 4th regiment at Vincennes a part of which have probably arrived before this.

Governor Scott has also granted permission to any volunteer companies who choose to go into other territories and offer their services to the governors thereof.

We have heard several times that all the young Indian warriors had left Greertown, which lies not a great ways from Mount Vernon, and it is thought have gone to join the prophet.

The report of the Indians having shot a man near N. Lancaster is said to have been an attempt by some young men to scare the person who raised the report. Another dreadful story we have heard, and which has excited a great deal of sympathy in some people to think of losing any of their red brethren, is that eight Indians were killed in Pickaway county by the whites, which we believe is entirely without foundation. The papers at Chillicothe mention nothing of it. And the paper at Circleville in the same neighborhood, is entirely silent about it. Any person who is base enough at this time to circulate such reports for their own diversion and to frighten the defenceless frontiers ought to be punished and set at some better employ.

WASHINGTON, June 5.

Immediately after the house of rperesentatives met on Tuesday, the doors were closed and remained so for about half an hour, when they were again opened, and the house adjourned.

WAR. The confidential message of the president to Congress, on Monday no doubt related to the subject of war.

Ball. American.

The message from the President containing a statement of foreign affairs, which we mentioned on Monday morning, would take place on the same day, has been realized. The mail of to-day may or may not disclose the other part, viz., that the committee of foreign relations will have reported a declaration of war. If this does not appear, it will be owing to the confirming secrecy adopted by the house.

Balt. Fed. Rep.

CIRCLEVILLE, May 23.

Some days ago, about thirty of our hardy and heroic citizens and descendents of our revolutionary patriots, volunteered their services, and marched without a commander from the Walnut creek in this county to Dayton, the place of rendezvous. Upon their arrival, Major Reed, a republican citizen of Dayton, invited them to his house, where they partook of a splendid dinner, prepared for their reception, at his own expense. From hunger and fatigue, it seems, as in the land of Egypt, they found a brother Joseph! *They ate and drank till they were merry in his presence.*

DAYTON, May 21.

Captain Mansfield's company of light infantry, from Cincinnati, arrived yesterday morning.

The troops at this place, amounting to about fifteen hundred, have divided into three regiments, under the command of Cols. McArthur, Findlay and Cass.

Captain William Van Cleve's rifle company, of this county, have volunteered their services to the governor, for the protection of the frontier. They will march to Greenville in a few days.

We understand that on Friday last, five or six men who were covering corn in a field near Greenville, were fired upon

by five Indians; one of the men was wounded. They instantly pursued the savages, killed one and wounded another.

Extract of a letter from Major Charles Wolverton, to General Munger, dated Troy, May 14, 1812.

"Captains Westfall and Buchannan have taken seven prisoners, (six men and a squaw). I have sent them to John Johnston, to dispose of as he thinks best. I have detained their arms and ammunition; they had six guns; four were left in the woods, hid under the logs. A fresh cow hide made into tugs, was found with them and several other articles that indicate to us a hostile intention, or at least an intention to steal horses.

Issue of July 1, 1812.

WAR!

A way letter from a gentleman at the city of Washington, to his friend in Philadelphia, dated on Tuesday last says "THE WAR BILL has just passed the Senate 19 to 13."

June 19, 1812.
Lanc. Journal.

PITTSBURGH, June 25, 1812.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Lacock to a gentleman in this Town, dated Washington City, June 18, 1812.

"I embrace the first opportunity to inform you that WAR has this day been declared, and the injunction of secrecy taken off. This measure passed in the House of Representatives by a majority of 30, and in Senate 19 to 13. This is an unqualified, unconditional War, by land and sea, against the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland."

The Scioto Gazette, printed at Chillicothe, June 19th, says: "Governor Meigs arrived in town on Wednesday last. He has politely favoured us with the following information:

"On the 6th inst. Governor Meigs met in council in the woods near Urbanna, a number of chiefs of the Wyandots,

from Sandusky, Shawanoe and Mingoes, from the Auglaize. On the 7th the army arrived and encamped near Urbanna. On the 8th a conference was opened in the camp by the same chiefs, with governor Meigs and general Hull, at which the chiefs agreed to permit the army to open a road from Manary's block-house to the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the Lake, and erect block-houses on the road.

The 4th United States Regiment was escorted into camp by the Ohio army on the 10th. A triumphal arch had been previously erected by the troops in honor of the 4th Regiment, which marched under the arch; on the front of the arch was painted in large letters *"Tippecanoe — The Eagle — Glory."*

Col. McArthur's regiment marched on the 11th to Manary's block-house, 20 miles from Urbanna, and were ordered to proceed into the Indian country, open the road, and erect block-houses every 20 miles. On the 14th the rest of the army lay at Urbanna.

We are informed that the volunteer corps raised within the limits of Col. John Campbell's regiment, Portage county, have received orders, from Governor Meigs to march to Sandusky to protect the United States store at that place and guard that part of our frontier and that they will march to-morrow from Ravenna.

Much praise is due this regiment for their readiness to obey their country's call. We believe, that even in the patriotic state of Ohio, and she is second to none in the Union, very few regiments alone have furnished a complete company of volunteers. Officers and men, without claim, or regard to rank, volunteered as privates. Col. Campbell, in common with the private centinel, shouldered his rifle, and took a common lot for a command in the corps. He has been honored by the unanimous suffrage of his fellow soldiers with the captaincy of the company.

By a gentleman just from Cleveland, we are informed, that Omique the Indian, who was under sentence of death for the

murder of two men committed on Pipe creek, Huron county, was executed at Cleveland on Friday last. We are informed that there were no Indians present at the execution. Four companies of militia performed the duties of a military escort on this occasion.

Issue of July 8.

To Men of Patriotism, Courage and Enterprise.

Every able bodied man, from the age of 18 to 45 years, who shall be enlisted for the term of five years, will be paid a bounty of SIXTEEN DOLLARS — and whenever he shall have served the term for which he enlisted, and obtained an honorable discharge, stating that he had faithfully performed his duty whilst in service, he shall be allowed and paid, in addition to the aforesaid bounty, *three months' pay,* and ONE HUNDRED and SIXTY ACRES OF LAND; and in case he should be killed in action or die in the service, his heirs and representatives, will be entitled to the said three months' pay, and one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be designated, surveyed and laid off, at the public expense.

WILSON ELLIOTT,
Capt. U. States' Army.

Warren, July 6th, 1812.
Place of Rendezvous, Warren, Trumbull Co., Ohio.

Issue of July 15.

We are told that committees of safety are organized along the shore of Lake Erie, for the purpose of superintending a patrole, which has been formed for the purpose of patroling along the lake; both for the purpose of giving timely notice of any maureding parties which might come on shore, and also to prevent unnecessary alarms. It is understood that the centinels give notice to the several committees of any thing which they may discover, and from them the hue and cry goes to the people. Any rumor from any other quarter is deemed incorrect.

* * *

We are informed that Gen. Hull has arrived at Detroit with his army. A wide field of conjecture is now laid before us, upon what the measure will be, he will adopt. Were we to offer an opinion, we should say, that an immediate attack is to be made upon the western part of Upper Canada. The situation of the Aemrican troops is such, as necessarily to induce such a belief. A force of 2500 men are already assembled at Detroit. Accessions of strength are daily making to his army by the march of men from the northern section of this state. A respectable force is now assembled at the lower end of lake Erie, it is most probable, that a simultaneous attack is contemplated by our government at both places. As the U. States have not a sufficient naval force to command lake Erie; the country on every side of it must immediately be conquered, or the army at Detroit cannot be supported. No plan of operations can immediately be adopted to obtain possession of their naval force, but to drive them from their lurking holes. We have aready heard of the capture of four of our vessels on lake Erie; three of them loaded with provisions, and baggage for the army. Supplies must either be carried across lake Erie from the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, or come by land at an immense expense, and in very inconsiderable quantities from the western part of the state of Ohio. To transport supplies a distance of one hundred and fifty miles through a wilderness country for the support of so large a force, will handly be done for any length of time. If Malden has not already fallen, yet the United States must have full possession of the whole of the shore of lake Erie so long before the commencement of winter, as that the army can receive supplies by water, or they will be driven away by famine.

Extract of a letter to gentleman in this town, dated Painesville, July 7, 1812.

"Sir, please to send by the bearer all the powder and lead you have.—We are informed that the British have captured three of our vessels near Malden, *to-wit,* the Amelia, Contractor, and Cuyahoga-Packet. The packet was loaded with bag-

gage to Hull's army, and some officers of the army; the other two loaded with provisions for said army; the men are all confined at Malden. — The above information we received from an express from Detroit on his way to Buffaloe — he went in consequence of the above captures. The provision was for the army — he says they will be in a state of starvation before provisions can be had, as it must go by land."

Issue of July 22.

(From the *Muskingum Messenger.*)

The following proceedings of a council has been forwarded to us by order of the governor. The council was held in the woods, surrounded by 500 citizens of Champaign and other counties.

PROCEEDINGS

Of a council begun and held near Urbana, Champaign county, Ohio, on Saturday the 6th of June, 1812, between his excellency *Return Jonathan Meigs,* esq. governor and commander-in-chief in and over the state of Ohio, and Ta-he [Tarhe], (or Crane, principal chief,) Sha-na-to, Scutush, Ma-na-han, Dew-e-sew (or Big River,) chiefs of the Wyandots, Cat-a-we-pa-so (or Black Hoof), Cut-awe-pa, (or Lewis,) Pi-a-ge-ha, Pi-ta-na-ge, Kit-e-kish-e-mo, Na-sa-ha-co-the, chief of the Shawanoese, Ma-tha-me, (or Civil John), of the Mingoes.

His excellency addressed the chiefs as follows:—

My red brothers, chiefs of the Wyandots, Shawanoes, and Mingoes, I thank the Great Spirit that he has permitted us to come together where we can talk freely and sincerely. As father of the people of the state of Ohio, who live as neighbors to you, I speak.

Brothers — Ever since the treaty of Greenville, we have lived in peace and fulfilled all the promises then made to you. We wish always to live in peace with you; it is because we love peace, and not because we fear war. The Wyandots, Shawanoes, and Mingoes, are brave nations, and brave men will not break their promises.

Brothers — Our great father, the President of the United

States, whose eye equally regards all his children, desires that you should live as we live, to raise your provision, and provide for your families.

Brothers — Open your ears; listen to what I say; I speak from my heart. Bad men and liars have endeavored to break the chain of friendship. If you hearken to the deceiver called the Prophet, and the mad man, Tecumseh, his brother, your skies will be cloudy, your paths will be dark, and you will tread on thorns. The *pretended* Prophet has cheated some of different tribes. He does *not* communicate with the Great Spirit; his councils are foolish, and have stained the land with blood. The Great Spirit delights in seeing all his children live in peace, and *smiles* upon them when they do so; but he *frowned* on the Prophet at Tippecanoe and his deluded followers were destroyed. *Beware, then.*

Brothers — Open your ears. An army of my own children, of fifteen hundred men, under the command of general Hull, the father of the Michigan territory, is marching; but, brothers, be not alarmed, although his arm is strong, he will strike none but his enemies.

Brothers — Listen to me attentively. — Your young men sometimes go rashly out of the true path, and do mischief, and go to war without your permission. You are their chiefs and they *must* obey you. You *must* restrain them, so that your wives and children may sleep in peace and the innocent not suffer for the acts of the guilty.

His excellency then addressed himself particularly Ta-he, the principal chief of the Wyandots, and taking him by the hand continued:

My brother Ta-he — Twenty-one years ago I came from the Ohio to you at Sandusky, through the wilderness; you took me to your cabin; I was faint, and you refreshed me; I was hungry and you fed me. I will now feed you, and will shew you the friendship which my people shewed your people last winter. After the battle of the Wabash many hundreds of men, women and children came among us, even to the bank of the great river, to hunt. I sent messages to my children everywhere to treat your men, women and children with kind-

ness, and not to molest them, because I told them you had a right to come among us by the treaty of Greenville. Not one of all those who came among us was injured. They tarried all winter, and returned to their towns in safety; and by that treaty you *must abide.*

Brothers — I will not deceive you. The Great Spirit *who shakes the earth* wills that I tell you nothing but the truth. If you hold fast to the treaties you have made, the United States will hold them fast on their part; but the tomahawk *must* not be stained with the blood of my children; if it is, it shall be wrested from you, and sunk in the bottom of the great lakes. If you join the enemies of the U. States, there will be no peace for you.

Brothers — I lay my hand on my heart and assure you, that if you are faithful, you shall be protected. It is promised, and it shall be fulfilled.

Brothers — You have listened to my voice, I will now to yours.

Ta-he, after three hours spent in private consultation with the chiefs of the different nations, spoke as follows:

Brother — We suppose that the Great Spirit has ordered that we come together on this day. We have not met to make known our friendship towards you. We thank the Great Spirit that so many of us have been able to come together at this time, and that we can talk one with another. The Great Spirit placed us here as brothers, and, as we believe, requires that we live together as brothers ought to do. If we are willing to live in friendship with each other, he will permit us so to remain. I have heard often of our great father, the President of the United States. I have never seen him, but I hope that not only ourselves but that he also will be of the same mind.

Brother — Listen; we have come to talk with you. We have heard you, and we wish that you would hear us. I hope that not only you, but that our great grandfather the President of the United States will also listen, as we expect that he will hear what we have to say at this time.

Brother — I have not much to say about the treaty of which you have been talking. I believe I remember, and have

kept that treaty, and hope the Great Spirit will help me always to keep it. When our father, general Wayne, and ourselves, made that treaty, we talked about it together; we then said that the treaty, should never be broken, that we would always be at peace, that our women and children might remain at rest; we talked that we were old, and would not long stay here, but that we should teach our young men always to keep it. This is all I have to say, brother, for myself.

Brother — We are only from a few nations who are here; but I will now speak to you for them. This (*handing his excellency a bit of white wampum*) is a token of peace. We have received it from the Great Spirit. It is clean and pure, and is unstained with the blood of any white man.

Brothers — The eye of the Great Spirit is not only on all our actions, but sees our hearts. He did not place us here to quarrel, but to live in peace with one another. We ought so to talk and have his name in our hearts. We can only speak to you for ourselves; a number of my people are a great way off; those who are near me I speak for.

Brother, I wish you to understand me, we wish for peace. We will not listen to bad men and liars, and we pray the Great Spirit to shut our ears against them.

Brother — Here are the chiefs of the Wyandot, Shawanoese and Mingoes. We answer only for ourselves. We are all of one mind — we all wish for peace. *Brother* we are not telling you any lies, and I hope that you and our great father, the president of the United States, will think so.—The Great Spirit knows our hearts, and knows that we are sincere. We may deceive *you,* but we cannot deceive *him*. *Brother*, this is all I have to say. I hope our father, general Hull, will soon be here; I wish to speak to him and to you together as brothers. I hope that he may succeed, and that if he should meet with any enemies he may overcome them.

Black Hoof then spoke.

Father — I shake hands with you in friendship. You have heard Ta-he. What he has said, we have to say. We are all as one.

Father — I have got my instructions which I received from my great father, the president of the United States; I make them my study, and walk in the path which he pointed out, without turning to the right or left. It is the wish of me and of all my nation to be at peace with you, to be frugal, and industrious, that we may provide for our women and children. I hope the Great Spirit will admit the white people and me and my people to shut their ears against liars and all bad men. I intended to keep the directions of our great father, the president, and all those who have authority under him. I look to you as to one of my great fathers, who will point out the road in which I have to walk. From the place in which your people have placed you — from your standing among them — and from your gray hairs, I think you have wisdom to direct me, and I shall listen to what you say. I am glad you came here. I hope you will help us to be at peace, and take under your protection ourselves, our women and our children, as you do your white children, and as you think best with them. Your red children are poor but their hearts are good. I am very happy to see our father and brothers. I am happy to shake hands with you, and you may rest assured they shall never be parted. The writings and instructions I received from my great father, the president, I carry with me when I go abroad. I have them when I remain at home, and when I sleep I lay them under my pillow. You have heard the Wyandots — you have heard me — I have heard you. I (*handing another white wampum*) give you this from my heart, as a token of peace. I have done. I thank you.

Lewise then spoke.

I have only a few words to say, father. I have heard something from you this day satisfactory to me. It appears that by the dispensation of Providence we have met in peace at this time. I trust the Great Spirit is now looking down and will witness the sincerity of my heart in what I am going to say. It is true what Ta-he has said; and I also take my direction from the seventeen fires which are burning throughout this union, and from the president of the United States. I am but a stripling in comparison with my aged fathers who have spoke

before me, but I can speak the sentiments of my heart. When I went to my father, the president, and secretary of war, I received my instructions from them, and although the *heavens should fall asunder and the earth open beneath,* I will not part with them, or wander from the path which they pointed out.

Father — I have heard what you have said and am glad in my heart. I shall take every means to prevent my young men from disturbing the whites, in any manner. This is all I have to say, I have and will follow the instructions of my father, the president, the secretary of war, and of yourself.

Gov. Meigs then told them Gen. Hull would arrive the next day — he would then take their hands and place them in Gen. Hull's, to which they assented. The council broke up.

Attest.

JASON CURTIS,
HENRY BACON,
Secretaries.

(From the *Western Spy*)

We are indebted to the politeness of William Ruffin, esq., postmaster in this place, for the following extract of a letter, together with the annexed speeches, from his correspondence, dated,

FORT WAYNE, May 25, 1812.

"I herewith transmit you the speeches delivered in general council, at Massassinway, on the 15th May, 1812, where the named tribes respectively were represented, which I have transcribed from the original as translated by Capt. Wells. You can use them as you think proper.

"The agent at this post has been counselling with delegation from the Massassinway council for three days, the result of which I suppose, will appear in print."

A sketch of the different Indian speeches, delivered at a grand council, at Massassinway, on the Wabash, on the 15th May, 1812: where the following tribes were represented: — Wyandotts, Chippaways, Ottoways, Puttawattamies, Delawares, Miamies, Eel River Miamies, Weas, Piankashaw, Shawanoes, and Winabagoes.

The council was opened by the Wyandots with the following speeches.

Elder Brothers — You that reside on the Wabash, listen to what I say; and in order that you may distinctly hear, and clearly understand our words, we now open your ears and place your hearts in the same position that they were placed in by the Great Spirit when he created you.

Young Brothers — We are sorry to see your paths filled with thorns and briars, and your land covered with blood; our love for you has caused us to come and clear your paths and wipe the blood off your land, and take the weapons, that have spilled this blood, from you, and put them where you can never reach them again.

Younger Brothers — This is done by the united voices of all your Elder Brothers that you now see present, and who are determined to not be disobeyed. This determination by your Elder Brothers, to put an entire stop to the effusion of your blood; has met with the approbation of our Fathers, the British, who had advised all the red people to be quiet and not meddle in quarrels that may take place between the white people.

Tecumseh, the Prophet's brother, replied.

Elder Brothers — We have listened with attention to what you have said to us. We thank the Great Spirit for inclining your hearts to pity us — We now pity ourselves — our hearts are good; they never were bad. Governor Harrison made war on my people in my absence — it was the will of God he should do so. We hope it will please God that the white people may let us live in peace; we will not disturb them; neither have done it except when they come to our village with the intention of destroying us. We are happy to state to our brothers present, that the unfortunate transaction that took place between the white people and a few of the young men, at our village, is settled between us and governor Harrison; and I will further state, had I been at home there would have been no blood shed at that time.

We are sorry that the same respect has not been paid to the agreement between us and governor Harrison, by our

brothers, the Puttawattamies; however, we are not accountable for the conduct of those over whom we have no control; let the chiefs of that nation exert themselves, and cause their warriors to behave themselves as we have and will continue to do ours.

Should the bad acts of our brothers, the Puttawattamies, draw on us the ill will of our white brothers, and they should come again and make an unprovoked attack on us at our village; we will die like men, but we will never strike the first blow.

The Puttawattamies spoke.

We are glad it should please the Great Spirit for us to meet today, and incline our hearts for peace.

Some of the foolish young men of our tribe, that have for some winters past, ceased to listen to the voice of their chiefs, and follow the counsel of the Shawanoe, that pretended to be a Prophet, have killed some of our white brothers this spring, at different places; we believe that they were encouraged in this mischief by the pretended Prophet, who we know has taken pains to detach them from their own chiefs and attach them to himself. We have no control over these few vagabonds and consider them not belonging to our nation, and will be thankful to any people that will put them to death wherever they are found — as they are bad people and have learnt to be so from the pretended Prophet, and as he has been the cause of setting those people on our white brothers, we hope he will be active in reconciling them. As we all hear him say his heart is inclined for peace, we hope we may all see his declaration supported by his future conduct, and that all our women and children may lie down to sleep without fear. The future conduct of the Puttawattamies will evince the great desire they have to effect this desirable object.

Tecumseh replied.

It is true we have endeavored to give all our brothers good advice; if they have not listened to it, we are sorry for it. We defy a living creature to say we ever advised any one, directly or indirectly, to make war on our white brothers.

It has constantly been our misfortune to have our views misrepresented to our white brethren; this has been done by pretended chiefs of the Puttawatamies and others that have been in the habit of selling land to the white people that did not belong to them.

Tecumseh was then called to order by the Delawares, who said—

We have not met at this place to listen to such words. The red people have been killing the whites, and the just resentment of the latter is raised against the former. Our white brethren are on their feet and their guns are in their hands. There is no time for us to tell each other, you have done this and you have done that; if there was, we would tell the Prophet that both red and white people have felt the bad effects of his counsel. Let us all join our hearts and heads together and proclaim peace throughout the land of the red people. Let us make our voices heard and respected, and rely on the justice of our brethren.

The Miamies spoke as follows—

We feel happy that we appear of one mind; that we all see that it would be our immediate ruin to go to war with the white people.

We, the Miamies, have not hurt our white brethren since the treaty of Greenville. We would be glad if all the other nations present could say the same. We will cheerfully join our brethren for peace, but we will not join them for war against the white people.

We hope our brothers, the Puttawatamies, Shawanoes, Kickapoos, and Winebagoes, will keep their warriors in good order, and learn them to pay more respect to their women and children, than they have done by going and murdering the innocent white people. The white people are entitled to satisfaction; it is the interest of the Indians to give it to them immediately. Let us do justice to our white brethren, and expect justice from them; by doing this, we shall insure the future peace and happiness of our men, women and children.

Then the Kickapoos spoke —

Elder Brothers — We your younger brothers, have listened to all you have said, with attention. It only remains for us to say, that we are glad to hear you say you have pity on our women and children, and wish to stop the effusion of our blood. — We have settled our disputes with Governor Harrison, and are sorry the Puttawatamies have not acted more like men than they have done by killing the white people after we had made peace with them.

We have not two faces, and despise the people that have. The peace we have made with Governor Harrison, we will strictly adhere to, and trouble no person, and hope no person will trouble us.

The above is a correct translation.

WILLIAM WELLS.

May 26, 1812.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT.

Extract of a letter from John S. Edwards, Esq., of this town, to the Editor, Dated Huron, July 16, 1812.

On Monday, the 6th of July, General Hull arrived with his army at Detroit, on Saturday night, the 11th of July, he crossed over to Sandwich, on the Canada shore, sixteen miles above Malden, with two thousand men, and took possession of it, without bloodshed, at which place, he was by the last advices fortifying.

The British have collected all their forces at Malden, where it appears, they are determined to make a stand. They have two hundred and fifty regular troops, seven hundred militia; about four hundred Indians. The country about Malden, is in the greatest state of alarm, and distress possible; all the men of that region, have been drove into the garrison at Malden; and a great proportion of them at the point of the bayonet.

The British are engaged in putting all their most valuable effects, on board of their vessels; prepared to go down the lake, provided they should be drove to extremes.

The Indians are waiting to see the event of the contest be-

fore they take a stand. And nothing is to be feared from them in this quarter, unless General Hull should be beaten.

I would further add, that on the 5th of July, the British began to throw up breastworks opposite Detroit, from which place they were driven from the firing from Detroit; they then went down the river three miles, and began throwing up another breastwork, from which place they were again driven by a fire from some pieces of ordnance, that were taken from Detroit, and planted opposite to the spot where they were fortifying.

All speak in the highest terms, of the order, discipline, and spirit of the troops under Gen. Hull, and the most favorable result is anticipated from their operations.

By WILLIAM HULL,

Brigadier General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Army of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of Canada! After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of G. Britain, have *once more* left them no alternative but manly resistance, or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country, and the standard of the UNION now waves over the Territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to *find* enemies, not to *make* them. I come to *protect*, not to *injure* you.

Separated by an immense ocean, and an extensive wilderness, from G. Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask *you* to avenge the one or to redress the other. The U. States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security, consistent with their rights, and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings, of civil, political and religious liberty, and their necessary result,

individual and general prosperity; — that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy, to our conduct, in our struggle for Independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution: — that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

In the name of my *country,* and by the authority of my *government,* I promise you protection to your *persons, property* and *rights.* Remain at your homes. Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations. Raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage; the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interests, and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you.

If the barbarous and savage policy of G. Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination.

The first stroke of a tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping-knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. *No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner.* Instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

I doubt not your courage and firmness. I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily.

The United States offer you peace, liberty and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may HE, who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in HIS hand the fate of Nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and prosperity.

WILLIAM HULL.

Issue of August 5.

CHILLICOTHE PATRIOTISM!

CHILLICOTHE, July 25.

Late on Saturday evening last an Express arrived in town with a letter from Gen. Hull, to Governor Meigs, stating that the army was very deficient in provisions, that Mr. Piatt was authorized to furnish a supply for two months, and that the communication must be preserved by the militia of this state or the army would perish for the want of provisions. The letter concludes with saying, "We have the fullest confidence that you will do all in your power to prevent so distressing a calamity." A letter was, at the same time, received from the contractor, stating, that provisions were deposited at Urbana, ready to be packed on horses, but that he should be obliged to wait for a convoy of troops to protect it, and open a new road: as the old one is almost impassable. At the time the above despatches were received, the Governor was at his residence in Marietta. The next morning (Sunday) they were opened by the secretary of state; and immediately on their contents being made known the drum beat to arms. It is with peculiar pleasure we record the patriotic spirit displayed by our citizens on the occasion. After marching through the streets a short time, between 60 and 70 volunteers stepped into the ranks at the call. No distinction of party or profession was known — the federalist, the republican, the farmer, the me-

chanic, the lawyer and the merchant indiscriminately determined to shoulder muskets, and brave every danger to relieve their fellow countrymen who are now in Canada.

On Monday morning the company paraded at the court house, when they elected Henry Brush, Captain, William Beach, Lieutenant, and John Stockton, Ensign, and then drew their arms. Being without uniform they instantly agreed upon a suitable one for the purpose, immediately purchased the stuff, and through the exertions of the ladies they were all completed before evening. In the meantime the rest of the citizens were not idle — moulds being first made, some were engaged in moulding bullets, some in moulding buckshot, and some in making cartridges. Before evening, near 2,000 cartridges, each containing a ball and three buckshot, were made, and other necessaries, such as provisions, canteens, knapsacks, blankets and other camp equipage provided, all at the expense of private individuals. Early the next morning they started for Urbana, accompanied by the citizens, in regular march, a few miles out of town. — Thus in less than 24 hours, a large company of volunteers was raised, completely equipped, and on their march through a hostile and wilderness country. The zeal and promptitude displayed by our citizens on this occasion deserve the highest encomiums; although they did not illuminate, and disturb the peace of society by mobs and rejoicings when they received the Declaration of War; yet they have exhibited that true spirit of patriotism, which, when required, steps forth with alacrity, to defend her country's rights. — It will be recollected this is the fourth company who have volunteered their services and are now in actual service, from this town and its vicinity — two of whom are now in Canada. Another company of mounted riflemen, from the vicinity of this place, met for the purpose of volunteering their services on the present occasion, had the Governor been here to accept of them. Let each state follow the example of Ohio, especially Chillicothe and its vicinity, and the contest in which we are engaged will soon come to an honorable termination.

An express mail, now, passes through this town, [Warren] from Washington to Detroit; as this mail goes upwards of an hundred miles a day, and is opened in this town, our subscribers may expect the earliest intelligence, both from Washington and Detroit, at present the principal seat of war, on land.

Issue of August 19.

FROM CHILLICOTHE, AUG. 8.

We understand that Gen. Winchester has received orders to reinforce Gen. Hull with 1,500 men. This detachment will consist of Kentucky volunteers, and regulars recruited under the late act of Congress. One hundred regulars will go from this state. * * *

Capt. Sutton and Ensign Van Horn arrived in town last evening from Canada. They left the American army on Wednesday. We are sorry to say that Michilimachinac, which lies about 300 miles above Detroit, has been taken by the British and Indians. The forces consisted of about 1,000 — and the fortress was taken by surprise. The American army is in no want of provisions. Its lines are within a few miles of Fort Malden. Several skirmishes have taken place, in some of which the Americans were successful, in other British were victorious. We understand that Gov. Meigs will immediately order out a considerable body of volunteers and militia to Detroit.

Avery Powers, quartermaster sergeant in McArthur's regiment, is among those that are killed. His family, which consists of a wife and several children, resides in Franklinton.

Twenty-eight miles this side of Detroit Capt. Sutton found two men dead and scalped. One of whom was his own son. A small party of Indians was seen afterwards in the woods. Capt. Sutton and his party escaped without injury.

The second company of Chillicothe volunteers, were met at Fort Findlay, and expected to reach Detroit on the 10th inst. The company, then consisted of about an hundred men. They were well and in good spirits. We do not calculate to hear of an attack on Fort Malden.

Mr. Lyons, who started from this place with letters for Detroit, has stopped at the river Raisin, on account of some Indian alarms.

Extract of a letter from Captain Ulry, of the army of Ohio, to a gentleman in this town, dated Sandwich, July 26, 1812.

We have had four engagements with the Indians and British. The first time we beat them back and took the ground. The other three times, we had to retreat without the loss of a man, only two slightly wounded — one out of Capt. Fryat's company, and the other out of Capt. Cunnigham's.

Yesterday we had a warm engagement with a few of our men under the command of Major James Denny, particularly with the Indians, but had to leave the ground with the loss of three men out of our regiment, and we killed, it is supposed, twelve Indians, and took a British captain prisoner.

Gen. Perkins has ordered a muster of the commissioned and staff-officers of the 3d brigade, 4th division, Ohio militia, to be held at the house of Asahel Adams, in Liberty, on the 2nd and 3d days of September. Also, that the field-officers appear with their side-arms, and the captains, subalterns and staff-officers with muskets, and that they perform camp-duty during the night.

The court of common pleas for this County will commence, at Warren, on the 7th of Sept. next, and will afford an opportunity to all those aliens who have not filed the declaration of their intention to become citizens, to come forward and comply with the provisions of the naturalization laws.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

July 7th, 1812.

NOTICE.

All British subjects within the U. States are required forthwith to report to the Marshals (or the persons to be appointed

by them) of the respective states or territories, within which they may reside, their names, their age, the time they have been in the United States, the persons composing their families, the places of their residence, and their occupations or pursuits; and whether, and at what time, they have made the application to the courts required by law, as preparatory to their naturalization — and the Marshals respectively, are to make to the Department of State, returns of all such British subjects with the above circumstances annexed to their names.

Issue of August 26.

TREMENDOUS STORM.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman near Xenia (State of Ohio) to the Editor of the Reporter, dated July 6, 1812.

"A severe storm passed through Darke, Montgomery and Greene counties, on Saturday the 27th ult. Its course was nearly east. Everything in its course was destroyed or blown down; trees, fences, houses, etc. Two children were killed near Greenville, and many persons were wounded, some of whom, it is thought, are dangerous. — Many horses, cattle and hogs have been killed; squirrels and birds are found dead in vast numbers; branches of trees, leaves, flax, sheaves of grain, etc., fell in showers for several miles on each side of the storm; many of the branches of trees were carried to a great height in the air, and their leaves frozen, and some were found with icicles hanging to them; large trees were whirled in the air and carried several hundred yards — corn and wheat was tore out of the earth, and the surface of the ground carried away. One of the gable ends of my house, which was of brick, was blown down, as also every log building on the farm, and the shingles and timbers carrier a great distance — many farmers are ruined; it has injured me one thousand dollars at least. The breadth of the storm was from one-fourth to half a mile. It was accompanied with a noise like continued thunder, and a darkness in the air almost equal to night. I have heard of it for sixty miles west, and how much farther it extends I know not. Cypress, pines, laurel and chestnut branches were found

near this, and no such timber grows within 100 miles in the direction it came!"

IMPORTANT.

We have been politely favored with the following account of the surrender and capitulation of our North Western Army, under command of Brigadier General Hull.

HEAD QUARTERS, AT DETROIT, 16th Aug., 1812.

General Orders.

It is with pain and anxiety that Brigadier General Hull announces to the North Western Army, that he has been compelled from a sense of duty, to agree to the following articles of capitulation:

CAMP DETROIT, Aug. 16, 1812.

Capitulation for the surrendering of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major General Brock, commanding his Britanic Majesty's forces, on the one part, and Brigadier General Hull, commanding the Northwestern Army of the U. S. on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces, under the command of Major General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exceptions of such of the militia of the Michigan Territory, who have not joined the army.

2nd. All public stores, arms, and all public documents, including everything else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d. Private persons and private property of every description will be respected.

4th. His Excellency Brigadier General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the state of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Col. McArthur, should be included in the above capitulation. It is accordingly agreed to. It is however to be understood that such part of the Ohio militia

as have not joined the army will be permitted to return home, on condition that they will not serve during the war; their arms, however, will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

5th. The garrison will march out at twelve o'clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

J. McDonel,
Lt. Col., M. P. A. D. C.
J. B. Gegg,
Major, A. D. C.

Approved.
Wm. Hull, *B. Gen.*
Commanding the N. W. Army.
James Miller, *Lt. Col.*
5th U. S. Regt.
E. Brush, *Col. 1st Regt.*
Michigan Militia.

Approved.
Isaac Brock, *Maj. Gen.*

The army at twelve o'clock this day, will march out at the east gate, where they will stack their arms, and will be then subject to the articles of capitulation.

Wm. Hull, *B. Genl. Com.*

We are informed by the express who favored us with the above articles, that Gen. Hull gave up the fort with very little resistance, that there were but seven men killed. Our informant saw but about 100 of the Ohio volunteers, who arrived at Cleaveland on the 23d inst., and who were set at liberty by the British commanders, after surrendering their arms without being restrained from again entering into the service — that the regiment under command of Col. McArthur did not think proper to surrender themselves to the British arms, but have made their escape, and are retreating with their arms, etc., towards Urbana, Ohio — that he saw an express pass through Cleaveland with the dispatches from Gen. Dearborn to Gen. Hull, who says that an armistice has been agreed upon between him (Gen. Dearborn) and the governor of Canada.

Verbal information was received here on the 22nd instant, stating the capture of Gen. Hull and his army. In consequence of which, orders were issued to the commanding officers of each regiment in the 3d brigade, 4th division of the Ohio militia, to have one-half of the effective men under their respective commands in the field, completely equipped, and ready for a tour of duty. In obedience to which orders, about 200 of the drafted militia under the command of Col. John S. Edwards marched from this place on the 24th inst., destined for Cleaveland; about 1 o'clock, p. m. the drums beat for volunteers; a number of our most respectable citizens immediately turned out; before 5, a company was raised, equipped, had chosen their officers, and on their march.

We also understand, that the quota of men required of Col. William Rayen of the 1st regiment and Col. Richard Hays of the 3d regiment are on their march.

The drafts made, in pursuance of the requisition of the governor some time ago, consisting of one company of artillery equipped with one 8-pounder and two companies of infantry, commanded by Major William W. Cotgreave, leave town this day.

We further learn that subsequent orders have been issued by the general of the 4th division, to have all the effective men in the 4th brigade brought into the field.

Issue September 2.

We last week announced to our readers the disagreeable news of the surrender of Detroit, and its dependencies to the enemy. We are happy to say that this great misfortune did not happen in consequence of any fault in our government, but in the treason of the infamous Hull. All accounts agree in ascribing our loss to the treachery of the commander. Cols. Cass and M'Arthur, together with about an hundred of the brave volunteers of this state, landed, a few days since, at Cleaveland. Col. Cass has gone on to Washington. We are informed that at the surrender of the place, the American force was greatly superior to the British. The army was supplied with every nec-

essary, and a large convoy of provisions was at the Miami of the lakes, under the command of Capt. Brush, waiting for an additional number of men to escort it on to Detroit. It is said that this party have made good their retreat to Urbana.

Major General Wadsworth has established his head-quarters at Cleaveland, and pushed forward a body of troops under the command of Brigadier General Perkins, to Huron. The detachment, from the brigade under the command of Gen. Bell, have been ordered to Mansfield. The unfortunate prisoners belonging to this state, who surrendered at Detroit, are daily coming into Cleaveland. All accounts concur in the establishment of the treachery of Gen. Hull. But, we trust, if the government of the United States will put arms in our hands, that the patriotic militia of Ohio, will soon take abundant satisfaction. As soon as the news of the fall of Detroit was confirmed, every man ran to arms, old and young, without distinction of politics, repaired to the post of danger — no man waited for the cold formality of the reception of orders, but every one, exempt or not from military duty put on his armour.

Issue September 9.

Capt. Brush has arrived safe at Chillicothe from the river Raisin.

CHILLICOTHE, August 25.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of respectability and high standing, dated Sandwich, Upper Canada, Aug. 9, 1812, to his friend in this place.

"As for news I have little of interest to give you — Our army remains idle and inert, though anxious to be active. Like a *body* without a *head* it remains in statu quo — you will not understand me as wishing to convey an idea that our army is without a head, for what it wants in head, it has in *Hull.*

'There was a vain old man when he scarce could walk alone,
That from his shoulder undertook to heave a huge round stone
But fatal the exertion prov'd, *as consequences shew,*
His sinews crack'd, *he broke his back,* John Anderson my Joe.'

It is not my wish or intention to stigmatize the character of any man; but I fear that government has been extremely unfortunate in its choice of a Brigadier General for the North Western Army. I *dare* not say that *H—l* is a dangerous man, but every day's experience tells us in the plainest language that energy is wanting, and that integrity and plighted honor are overwhelmed by the torrent of interest and the ties of close consanguinity, which exists in this province. Had our army been commanded by any other general than Hull, I feel confident that we would now be in possession of Malden. Three or four times have detachments from M'Arthur's regiment, been called out to go to the bridge over Aux Canard to observe the movements of the enemy at that place, five miles from Malden —Not more than 150 men were called out at any time for that purpose. — The consequences were that we have had three skirmishes with the enemy — In the last we lost 5 men killed or taken prisoners by the Indians. To a prejudiced mind, even these things might be construed to mean that our army is to be sacrificed by the Indians and the British by piecemeal. The fact is, contrary policy would have a contrary effect: Superanuation and stubborn imbecility, poor excuses for indiscretion. There are men in the army who would lead it to Malden with the same spirit that animated Montgomery. — Why are the officers so diffident in electing from among themselves a commander whose enterprising spirit would ensure victory to their arms?

Extract of a letter from an officer of high rank in the Ohio army, to the Editor.

"To speak of our beloved Col. M'Arthur I cannot do him justice — he claims more from his country for his meritorious exertions in organizing the corps under his command than my feeble pen can describe. If you were not acquainted with my oppenness of sentiment, I should have had a reluctance to speak so freely of his merit — I esteem him much: Never was an officer so universally respected by his soldiers. — If he continues to merit their confidence, the happiest effects will result from it."

VINCENNES, August 18.

The editor has been politely furnished by Gen. Gibson, (acting governor) with the perusal of a letter from the commanding officer of Fort Harrison, dated the 9th inst. in which he says, that he has been informed by three different friendly Indians, that Tecumseh was preparing a considerable force to strike an important blow somewhere against the whites, and the full of this moon was the time fixed for his commencement of hostilities. — All the accounts received concur in stating his present force as being much greater than at the battle of Tippecanoe, and that he expects a large reinforcement about the time of his contemplated attack. All agree in opinion that this place is their first object.

Western Sun.

We have good reason to believe that the president of the United States has rejected the proposed armistice between General Dearborn and the governor of Canada, and directed that *six days' notice* should be immediately given to the respective officers of the recommencement of hostilities.

We hear nothing from Detroit — report says, that the Kentucky militia have arrived on the Miami of the lake. Things remain as they have done for some days past at Cleavland. We are told, that Gen. Wadsworth has ordered most of his troops to Pipe-creek, Huron county. It is presumed that nothing further, in this quarter will be done until orders are received from Washington.

Mr. Editor.

We are almost every day witnessing the distressing effects of the treachery of the traitor Hull. Several of the Ohio volunteers have passed through this place, who, with hundreds of others, landed at the city of Cleaveland, unite in declaring that Detroit was surrendered, not for want of powder, but attribute it solely to the treachery of Hull, who we are sufficiently authorized to state was anxiously solicited to permit the troops

within the fort to fire on the enemy, but to no effect, Hull alleging for reason that they were too destitute of ammunition which has since proved to be a palpable falsehood, as there was then in the magazine both powder and lead in abundance to have commenced and continued the fight as long as occasion might require. Some of the soldiers quite recently from Detroit, state, that the Indians are committing most abusive depredations on the river Raisen, stripping the defenseless inhabitants of every thing they can lay hands on, and destroying what they cannot take with them. The Indians are mightily elated by their late success — they almost all since the surrender of Detroit, are seen riding on good horses, well equipped, while their swords challenge us to fight. We hope the government will speedily take decisive measures to retrieve the almost inconceivable loss sustained by the treachery of Hull, and bestow that reward on our enemy which injustice, barbarity and dishonor justly merit.

Maj. Gen. Wadsworth's headquarters are at the city of Cleavland, thirty-six miles from Huron river, to which place Brigadier General Perkins has marched with 500 men, for the purpose of building blockhouses, and to guard the frontier settlements.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

DESERTED on the 26th inst. James Dunlap, a drafted soldier, in the artillery of the 1st regt. 3d brigade, 4th division Ohio militia; he is of a dark complexion, about six feet high, a tailor by trade, late resident of Liberty township, Trumbull county. The above reward will be given, if delivered at Cleaveland, or secured in any jail in the state, and reasonable expences by

JAMES HAZELIP, *Capt.*,
1st Regt. 3d Brigd. 4th Div. Ohio Militia.

August 29, 1812.

Issue September 16.

We have received a communication, signed James Dunlap, which is an answer to certain assertions, made by Capt. Hazelip, of the artillery company, attached to the 1st regiment, 3d

brigade and 4th division of Ohio militia, in an advertisement published in our paper — We, in our prospectus declared, that we would never make our paper subservient to private difference. Had we supposed this advertisement was merely a thing of a private nature, we should never have published it. We know not now whether it is such; but this we know, if we admit of a replication to it, our paper will be filled with such news as will not be interesting to the public — for in return Capt. Hazelip may wish to rejoin—We are willing to say thus much, that Mr. Dunlap denies that he is a deserter.

When I left Piqua which was on Monday, the 24th, there were about 700 Indians present, of whom 22 were Kickapoos, 27 Delawares, one family of Wyandots, and the remainder Shawanoes — they arrived at Mr. Johnston's the Indian agent the 15th inst. and encamped. On Monday, the 17th, their warriors about 300 formed a novel procession, and marched to Piqua 3 miles — with all the ceremonies and music peculiar to Indians — there they saluted the commissioners with two hearty cheers, and the discharge of rifles, the salute was returned by 100 Riflemen and 30 Cavalry. The Council was then opened by Black Hoof, who addressed the commissioners in behalf of the Shawanoes, in a very friendly manner. Gov. Meigs replied; he stated to them the object of the council, etc., and then adjourned until more Indians should collect — since which time the greatest order and harmony have prevailed their camps and the neighboring inhabitants place confidence in their assurances of friendship. The news of the murder of Capt. Wells which they got on Wednesday and of the surrender of Detroit on Thursday have not altered their minds. — About 350 Delawares had arrived within a few miles of Piqua, when I left there, it was said that many of the Miamies were on their way there and about 100 Wyandots.

The greatest alarm prevails all over the frontiers of Ohio in consequence of the gloomy intelligence from Detroit. On Sunday Mr. Johnston sent down the ammunition and some of the other Indian annuities to Dayton. Mr. Johnston's brother in Fort Wayne writes by the last express that he expects an attack

soon, and that his women and children will start to Piqua in a few days. He calls loudly for more men. Gov. Meigs wrote on Saturday from Urbana to Messrs. Worthington and Morrow that the British flag was flying at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake, and if they wanted more men at Piqua to send to him, or order them out themselves. — Saturday night false reports were industriously circulated in the adjacent country that the Indians at the council were meditating hostilities and that Indians were expected from Detroit, etc. These together with the belief that Detroit was in possession of the British caused a general resort to arms. Never did patriotic ardour burst forth in a more general flame in Ohio. Men of all ranks went to meet danger. On Monday and Thursday I met great numbers of men well armed on their way to Piqua and Urbana there to do as may seem most expedient.

J. H. March.
Pittsburgh Mercury.

Chillicothe, Sept. 5.

A letter from Cincinnati, to the editors dated August 30, says — "Two thousand Kentucky volunteers left here yesterday for Urbana; and about 400 more are expected here this week. The whole are to be under the command of Gov. Harrison, who is now in this town. He is appointed a major general, by Gov. Scott, of Kentucky, and the volunteers from that state are much pleased with the appointment."

An express which arrived at Cincinnati, the 29th of August, from Gen. Worthington to Col. Wells, supposing him to command the detachment from Kentucky, requesting him to order the troops under his command to Fort Wayne, as they had received pretty certain intelligence that the Indians from Lake Michigan, would soon attack that post. General Harrison immediately ordered the whole of his force amounting to six thousand, to Fort Wayne.

A letter from Gen. Thomas Worthington, to a gentleman in this town, dated at Piqua, August 25, says — "I expect and hope that within the next three days, a thousand men perhaps more; will be on, and be beyond the frontier. No mischief has

been done in this neighborhood by Indians, as yet; and if the arrangements made are carried into effect, of which there is a great prospect, I have every reason to hope that the whole frontier of Ohio will be secured against our savage neighbors, and our more savage enemies — the British. More than two regiments have arrived and are on their way; some of the detachments have arrived here today.

COMMUNICATION.

On the 14th of August, at mid-day, the British commenced throwing up a breast work, on the east side of Detroit river opposite to fort Detroit, within cannon shot from the fort, and planted their cannon, without a gun being fired to molest them. On the 15th Hull called a council of officers to know, whether he should fire upon the enemy, before they fired upon him. This inquiry was treated by the officers with the contempt, which it merited; all declaring, that they supposed a general could settle that question without calling a council of war. On the 15th at noon, the firing commenced, from the breast work so thrown up by the enemy upon the fort; which was returned, and continued until late in the evening; it recommenced, on both sides, on the morning of the 16th, and while answered from Detroit not a man was killed; after it had ceased from Detroit, 7 men were killed by 2 shot. On the morning of the 16th Gen. Brock crossed the Detroit two miles below, in sight of the fort, without any attempt being made to prevent him, although Col. Miller and other officers urged that they might be permitted to prevent him; which they thought, they could do. Brock marched to the attack, with 700 regulars and militia and 700 Indians, in a lane, in solid columns, in the face of six pieces of heavy cannon charged with grape shot, to within 600 yards of the fort; the men stood with their matches lighted, ready to fire, but were not permitted. Col. Findlay's regiment was posted behind a picket fence, having port holes cut in it, prepared to attack whenever the enemy displayed. Cols. M'Arthur and Cass were in the rear of the enemy with 400 men waiting to attack their rear as soon as the firing should com-

mence from the fort: in this situation Hull ordered the white flag to be hoisted, in opposition to the opinion of every officer and soldier with him. Hull had 2,500 effective men, provisions for 40 days, and an abundant supply of ammunition.

By the Express Mail.

A detachment under the command of *Major Austin*, of this town, were sent a few days since on to the peninsula between lake Erie and Sandusky bay for the purpose of procuring refreshment for the troops under the command of *Gen. Perkins*. They passed over to Cunningham's island, where they discovered a British schooner on shore, and abandoned by her crew — they set her on fire and left her. On their return they discovered the dead body of Mathew Guy of this neighborhood. Returning from that place, one of their own number was shot through the head and fell dead. This is the first blood that has been shed since the declaration of war at Sandusky bay. We are told that the president has ordered on to Gen. Wadsworth 1500 muskets.

Issue September 23.

The News.

From the west. On the 5th instant Gen. Harrison had his headquarters at Piqua. He has issued a proclamation, requiring every person who is able to do so, to join him, well mounted with a rifle and 20 or 30 days' provisions. His present forces amounted to between 5 and 6,000. He is marching to the relief of fort Wayne, which was then besieged by the British and Indians. Fort Wayne was not taken on the 6th instant. He writes to Governor Shelby of Kentucky, on the 5th instant, that he had detached 900 Kentucky infantry under the command of Col. Allen, who would be joined by 700 mounted men, who were in advance of him, to the relief of that fort; but that he had not been able to move with the main body of the army for the want of two essential articles — that a small supply would be up that day, and the troops would then be ready to march

in two hours. He says, we are well supplied, however, with bayonets, and our spirits are up to the highest pitch. Indignation and resentment fire every breast.

General Brock has issued a proclamation to the citizens of Michigan territory, dated the 16th August, declaring that *General Hull had that day ceded the territory of Michigan to his Britanic majesty's army;* announcing that the laws heretofore in existence shall be continued in force, until the pleasure of his Britannic majesty is known; and that the inhabitants thereof shall be protected in the enjoyment of their religion, etc. All persons having arms in their possession are requested to deliver them up, for which receipts will be given; as also all kinds of public property.

Pittsburgh Mer.

CHILLICOTHE, September 12.

No news of importance has been received from our frontier since our last paper. Gen. Harrison arrived at Piqua on the 2d inst. with about 2,000 Kentucky volunteers and 400 regulars under Col. Wells. Col. Allen, with about 900 Kentucky volunteers, and a company of horsemen, commanded by Capt. Garret, were soon despatched to reinforce the Ohio volunteers who had previously marched for the relief of fort Wayne. Capt. Langham left Urbana on Saturday last, for the same purpose. The whole force in that quarter, amounts to about 6,000 men; and from the movements and orders of Gen. Harrison, we believe he intends to scour the whole Indian country and completely crush our savage adversaries. Great fears are entertained that fort Wayne will be taken before the above detachments get there. A large body of Indians and British had surrounded the fort, which was, we understand, in a bad state of defense.

Supporter.

General Wadsworth, we are told, has removed his headquarters from Cleaveland, to the Portage between the Cuyahoga and the Tuskarawas branch of the Muskingum, after having sent reinforcement to Gen. Perkins, at Huron. The object of

this movement, we are told, is to open a more direct communication between Pittsburgh and Sandusky, and to facilitate the transportation of cannon and military stores to the Michigan Territory.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, The United States are now at war with Great Britain, whose forces are aided by savages of the most ferocious nature, and the frontiers of the state of Ohio are exposed to their cruelties and depredations, as well as to the machinations of traitors and spies — creating discontent among our citizens, and giving our enemies information of our situation, forces and movements.

In order therefore (as far as lays in our power) to prevent such cruelties, machinations, treachery, and spying — I issue this proclamation, EXHORTING all the citizens and inhabitants of the state of Ohio, to the strict observance of all their duties, as such; requiring all military officers according to their rank to be strict, in their attention to the discipline, arms and order of all those under their command, and to hold themselves in *constant* readiness for active service.

Also, requiring all magistrates, conservators of the peace, and all civil officers and others, to be vigilant in the apprehension, examination, and commitment of all such traitors or spies, in order that they may be dealt with according to law.

R. J. MEIGS,
Governor of Ohio.

Issue September 30.

We are informed by a gentleman directly from Gallipolis, that two large boats loaded with cannon, completely mounted, and several others with ammunition and public stores, descended the Ohio, for Cincinnati, on Monday last. They are, no doubt, intended for the northwestern army, now at Urbana. If so, our brave volunteers will have warm work this fall.

Scioto Gazette.

By the British Col. Proctor's "civil regulations for the government of the Michigan territory," AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD, a *U. States judge of the supreme court of that territory, is appointed secretary to the British governor!* It appears that there was more than one man at Detroit who had an *"itching palm."*

The News.

By the last accounts from General Harrison's army, it appears that about 3000 troops are at St. Mary's, on the 8th inst. which is 55 miles this side of fort Wayne.

The following is about the force General Harrison has with him from Kentucky:

Col. Allen's regiment 650; Scott's, 600; Lewis', 650; Poague's 640; Barbee's, 640; Jennings, 600; mounted volunteer for a short period, 500; regulars under Col. Wells, 400; Col. Simrall's regiment of horse 300; Capt. Garrard's troops of horse, 80 — Total, 5060.

A number of mounted volunteers from Kentucky were to rendezvous at Louisville, on the 18th, and were to march immediately for Vincennes. They are to be joined by Col. Wilcock's regiment of 588 men, and Col. Miller's of 700. The whole force, when collected, will amount to about 3000, and will be under the command of Gen. Hopkins, who, it is expected, will march against the Wabash Indians, and then to co-operate with Gen. Harrison.

To the Independent Electors of the State of Ohio.

You will soon be called upon to exercise the inestimable right of suffrage; to do that act, which, practically, evidences you to be freemen. The proper designation of persons to fill the respective offices of government is of the utmost consequence. This is a time of danger; a "time which" in some degree "tries men's souls". It is very important, that we should select a proper person for our executive magistrate. To assist in that object, the writer of this offers, to his fellow citizens, his thoughts upon the subject.

Many of us are unfortunately, beginning to doubt the integrity of our present governor. I say, unfortunately, for I believe those suspicions are without foundation; and that we shall not find here, or anywhere else, a better man. It has been said that, he has had a connection with the traitor Hull. To support this position, it is said, he has put the militia of Ohio under the command of Hull. I would ask, if it was not his duty so to do? Was not Hull, at a time, when no man suspected him of treachery, appointed a brigadier general in the army of the U. States, and ordered by the president, to take the command of that part of the militia of the state which were ordered to Detroit. Will any man say, that Governor Meigs ought to have refused to put the militia under an officer of the U. States. I trust, that in this state, no friend of the Union will advance a doctrine, so pregnant with evil. Has not Governor Meigs used every exertion to provide for the convenience of the troops. It must be answered in the affirmative. He has advanced 9000 dollars from his private purse, for the equipment of the first army of Ohio. The most of the past year has been spent, by him, in the organization of different detachments of militia. He is now at Urbana, organizing the detachment, which have been put under the command of Gen. Harrison. Can this man be an enemy to his country? — certainly not.

The enemies of our worthy chief magistrate, envious of his justly acquired popularity, have attempted to injure him, by reporting, that he is the brother-in-law of Hull. This is false — the writer of this article is personally acquainted with Governor Meigs, and his family. He knows this assertion not to be true. But even suppose it were true, does it follow, that because a man is a traitor, that all his relatives are? Was the nephew of Hull, who, with tears in his eyes, besought his uncle not to abandon Sandwich, but to make an attack upon Malden, a traitor? — who when offered protection by his uncle, if he would go with him to Lower Canada, spurned the offer, and chose rather to abandon his all to the merciless savage, and risk the lives of himself, wife, and infant child, in a retreat through the wilderness to Urbana.

Is the brave Capt. Hull, of the Constitution frigate, who

has gained the most brilliant naval victory, ever obtained by an American, a traitor because he is the nephew of Gen. Hull? No man supposes, that he was bought by English gold, when he fought, and conquered the British frigate Gurriere.

It is reported from a quarter entitled to credit, that Gen. Harrison having placed two men upon each of his horses, made a forced march for fort Wayne, where he has arrived before it was necessary for the fort to surrender

---

Issue of October 7, 1812.

From Montreal, September 7, 1812.

"Yesterday Gen. Hull and the 4th regiment U. S. regulars arrived here, prisoners of war, and were confined in the government house. The general rode at their head in a calash, and, looked dignified but distressed. A great crowd followed them and when the troops which guarded them arrived at the government house, the populace gave three cheers, and the drums beat *Yankee Doodle*. If this was intended as an insult to the prisoners, it was mean and pitiful."

CHILLICOTHE, September 23.

GOOD NEWS!!

An express from Gen. Harrison has just arrived in town. About 4000 men are encamped near fort Wayne. The Indians, which were about it, would not stay to fight. The headquarters of the northwestern army, are at St. Mary's between Piqua and fort Wayne. A detachment of the army, under Col. Wells, has destroyed five Indian towns, burnt all the corn, etc., one of the towns which has been destroyed, was occupied by the Potowatomies; and two by the Miamies. We have not been able to ascertain, to what tribes the other two Indian villages belonged.

CINCINNATI, September 22.

On Saturday, the 12th inst., Gen. Harrison, with about 3000 troops arrived at fort Wayne. A scouting party immediately

went out to search for Indians, and scoured the woods for several hours; but not an Indian could be found — though some had so suddenly decamped as to leave their fires burning, and baskets lying near. It was supposed there had been from three to 400 Indians. They had burnt 12 or 14 cabins in the neighborhood of the fort, and killed nearly all the cattle, milch cows, sheep, hogs and chickens, belonging to the fort, and the people who had been living in those cabins which were burnt. Not wanting all the meat, the putrifying carcases were numbers of them lying above the ground when the army arrived. — The Indians, previous to the arrival of the army shot two men who incautiously were outside of the fort a short time. Friday, the 11th, a small party of spies and four friendly Indians, who were a few miles in advance of the army, discovered a small party of hostile Indians, who fired on them without doing any injury — but one of the spies shot an Indian, and tracked him by the blood a considerable distance, until he left his blanket and rifle, but could not find him. They briskly pursued the Indians several miles, but without effect.

Since writing the above (Monday afternoon) Lieut. Bryson, of Newport, Ky., has politely communicated the following. — That an express had just arrived, who states verbally, that the detachment under Gen. Wells, which left fort Wayne on the 14th inst. returned on Friday last — *having destroyed* FIVE *Potowatamie and Miami towns, without having seen an Indian.*

War Department, September 1, 1812.

Your excellency's letter of August 24th is received. It is the determination of the president to regain the ground which has been lost, and to prosecute with redoubled vigor the original object of the campaign. In addition to the troops under General Winchester, a brigade of militia will be marched from the upper part of Pennsylvania, as soon as practicable, with such volunteers as may offer from that quarter. Fifteen hundred infantry have been ordered from Virginia, and the troops under General Harrison will co-operate with this force on the frontier.

The president has great confidence in your zealous support of these measures by all the means within your control.

Very respectfully yours,

W. Eustis.

His excellency R. J. Meigs,
Governor of Ohio.

Sir. I arrived at camp last evening, and find that the engagement on the peninsula, has proved less unfortunate than was at first apprehended — our loss are six killed, and ten wounded; the wounded are mostly very slight, and none I think mortal.

The names of the killed, are James S. Bills, Simon Blackman, Daniel Mingus, Abraham Simons, —— Ramsdale, —— Mason.

Wounded, are Samuel Mann, Moses Eldridge, Jacob French, Samuel B. Tanner, John Carlton, John M'Mahon, Elias Sperry, James Jack, a Mr. Lee, an inhabitant of this neighborhood, etc. Mr. Ramsdale, also of this vicinity. Knowing the anxiety of the inhabitants at the eastward, I detain the messenger no longer than to write the above, and am,

Sir, yours,

Simon Perkins.

P. S. Our men fought well, and the Indians suffered very considerably.

The commandant at Cleavland.

Camp at Avery, Huron county, October 3d, 1812.

Mr. Editor.

The commissioners appointed under an act of Congress, to lay out a road from the rapids of Miami to Sandusky, and thence to the west line of the Reserve, have struck the west line of the Reserve, eleven miles and some chains, north of the southwest corner of the same; this affords a fair opportunity to the citizens of Portage and the south part of Trumbull county, to secure to themselves, the great leading road of travel, and the great mail rout from Pittsburgh to Detroit: and we

trust that they will not let the opportunity escape them. By placing the road in good state of repair, they render the business certain, and such we trust is their intelligence, enterprise and industry, that it will be done; it is to them a great and important object, their only competitors will be the citizens of Columbiana, Stark and Wayne counties: the distance by the two routes will be nearly the same, but the road was unquestionably laid out with a view to pass through those three counties. After leaving the Sandusky, it takes a direction pointing directly to Worcester in Wayne county, Gen. Bell, one of the commissioners, is largely interested in lands in and about the county seats, of those counties and of course much interested in the road going through Worcester, Canton and Newlisbon, and upon a late occasion he declared at Canton, that the route through those towns was the nearest, and best, and would obtain the travel. It is hoped that those interested in the first mentioned route will take measures to get an appropriation made by our next Legislature upon it. It is interesting to them, and the public generally.

IMPROVEMENT.

ZANESVILLE (Ohio) September 23.

Extract of a letter from Governor Meigs to General Vanhorn, dated Urbana, September 19, 1812.

General Harrison's army reached fort Wayne on Saturday last, all safe. The Indians had retired four days before, after burning and destroying every species of property, public and private, outside of the garrison. My brother and two soldiers are the only persons that have fallen at that place. Expeditions have gone out in different directions from fort Wayne to harras the Indians. The Miamies were associated with the Potawatamies and are of course against us. One party had gone against their towns on the Wabash, and another against the Potawatamies on the waters of lake Michigan.

There is now altogether in advance of this place between 4 and 5000 men, and about 2000 within two days' journey com-

ing on. We have every reason to believe that the frontiers will be visited by the savages.

R. J. Meigs.

P. S. Eight hundred Indians are here and their families, and appear friendly.

Issue October 14.

(From the *Crawford Messenger.*)

Mr. Atkinson.

I arrived here a few days ago from Detroit, which place I left the 19th inst. I did not belong to the army under Gen. Hull, but was there previous to his arrival, and at the time of his surrender of the place to the British arms. On the morning of the surrender I was in the militia of the territory, commanded by Col. Brush, who informed us that Hull was going to give the place up, and the reasons for doing so were, that 1800 British regulars were marching up to attack us, and that we had not on hand ammunition sufficient to last one hour, and the provisions for the supply of the army did not exceed one day. After the surrender, I enquired of Col. Brush from whom he got this information, and he told me from Gen. Hull. I then undertook to collect, from the best sources, a statement of the arms, etc., on hand, at the time of the capitulation, in order to refute this unfounded assertion, which I give you for publication. I will not undertake to say that it is *entirely* correct, but I am confident it varies but little from the truth. The information I give of the provisions on hand I had from the contractor's agent the other was obtained either from the British officers or from American gentlemen who had conversed with them.

Yours, etc.,

William Foster.

Meadville, 28th September, 1812.

Memorandum of arms, ammunition, etc., in Detroit, 16th August, 1812, the day of the treasonable surrender of the place to the British forces, by Brig. Gen. Wm. Hull.

2000 muskets and accoutrements stacked on the esplanade after the surrender.

450 do. do. brought in after the surrender by Cols. M'-Arthur and Cass, and stacked on do.

N. B. The number in the arsenal not known.

9 twenty-four pounders mounted.

27 iron and brass pieces from 18 to 4 pounders, 4 or 5 of which were not mounted.

2 howitzers.

1 mortar.

480 rounds of fixed ammunition for the 24 pounders.

600 do. do. for the 6 pounders.

For the ordnance not ascertained.

200 cartridges of grape shot for the 24 pounders.

200 do for the 4 pounders.

The shells prepared and filled not ascertained, but the number very considerable.

60 barrels of gunpowder.

75,000 musket cartridges made up, besides 24 round in possession of each man.

150 tons of lead.

150 do. cannon ball of different sizes.

25 days provisions on hand, besides 120 pack horse load of flour, and 300 head of cattle at the river Raisin, 36 miles from Detroit, under the escort of Capt. Brush, and 300 men from Chillicothe—also 200 barrels of flour at the same place, sent there by the contractor in boats from Black Rock.

Two thousand men under arms in Detroit, beside the detachment of 450 under Cols. McArthur and Cass, who had been sent to meet Capt. Brush at the river Raisin, but for want of provisions had returned on the 15th, and encamped that night within six miles of Detroit. About sunrise on the morning of the 16th, they saw the British cross the river three miles above them, and sent word immediately to Hull where they were, but no advantage was taken of their eligible position, who could

have completely cut off the retreat of the enemy, had the traitor who commanded in Detroit gratified the wishes of his men, and suffered them to commence fighting. McArthur and Cass had left Detroit on Thursday evening the 13th, without provisions, under the promise that a supply would be sent after them the next morning. The supply was not sent. They had orders to take a private road, which was seventy miles to the river Raisin; they travelled most part of Thursday night and Friday, and on Saturday morning concluded it was best to return to Detroit, as they could not proceed without provisions. It was supposed by many that this detachment was sent off on purpose to have it out of the way at the time of the disgraceful surrender of Detroit, and its return was as unexpected to Hull as its beneficial co-operation with the army in Detroit, was apparent.

The whole force of the enemy did not amount to more than one thousand men, of which there were about two hundred Indians, who kept skulking through the woods, and who would not have dared to come within reach of the guns of the fort. There were three hundred and fifty regulars of the fourth regiment, and the balance were Canadian militia.

The treaty making at Piqua has been broken up. The commissioners' report will be given in our next. The Indians who attended there are required to remain within our protection, and are enrolled and mustered daily to prevent desertion. The warriors are said to amount to upwards of 300 men. Gen. Harrison has marched with a strong force to Fort Wayne, 700 of whom are mounted riflemen and musketeers. Governor Meigs remains at Urbanna with a strong force waiting orders from the war department. Detroit has a small detachment left in it as a guard by the British, but they have carried off the greater part of its military supplies. Malden is also defended at present by a small force.

Mus. Messenger.

Extract of a letter from Wm. S. Hutt, a volunteer under Gen. Harrison, to his lady in Chillicothe, dated,

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP ST. MARY'S, *Sept.* 22.

"This morning at 9 o'clock, we paraded agreeably to general orders, and formed in a hollow square, when general Harrison mounted a waggon and delivered a harrangue, in which he set forth the absolute necessity of subordination among the military, and expressed his confidence in the strength of the army now collected and collecting to reduce Malden and Detroit before Christmas, which he was determined to effect. The gen. told the army that if any of the six months' men wished to stay behind, he would place them in a garrison; and if any of the thirty days' men wished to return, they should receive their discharge, &c. and at the signal a few of them declared they would (and have) returned. We do not know how long we are to remain in this place, but that is one of my least concerns. Gen. Harrison wears his hunting shirt every day: he appears quite affable, and has a keen eye."

GEN. HULL'S ACCOUNT.

WASHINGTON CITY *Sept.* 19.

Yesterday afternoon at 2 o'clock lieut. Anderson, of the U. S. army, reached the city, bearer of dispatches from brig. gen. Wm. Hull, to the department of war, of which the following copies have been obtained for publication:

MONTREAL, *8th Sept.* 1812.

SIR — The enclosed dispatch was prepared on my arrival at fort George, and it was my intention to have forwarded it from that place by major Wetherill, of the Michigan volunteers. I made application to the commanding officer at that post, and was refused; he stating that he was not authorized, and gen. Brock was then at York. We were immediately embarked for this place, and major Wetherill obtained liberty at Kingston to go home on parole.

This is the first opportunity I have had to forward the despatches.

The 4th U. S. regiment is detained for Quebec, with a part of the first. The whole consists of a little over three hundred.

Sir George Prevost, without any request on my part, has offered to take my parole, and permit me to proceed to the states.

Lieut. Anderson, of the 8th regiment, is the bearer of my despatches. He was formerly a lieut. in the artillery, and resigned his commission on account of being appointed marshall of the territory of Michigan. During the campaign he has had a command in the artillery; and I recommend him to you as a valuable officer.

He is particularly acquainted with the state of things previous and at the time when the capitulation took place. He will be able to give you correct information on any points about which you may think proper to enquire.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

W. HULL.

HON. W. EUSTIS, *Sec. of War.*

FORT GEORGE, *Aug.* 26, 1812.

SIR — Enclosed are the articles of capitulation, by which the fort of Detroit has been surrendered to major-general Brock, commanding his Britannic majesty's forces in Upper Canada, and by which the troops have become prisoners of war. My situation at present forbids me from detailing the particular causes which led to this unfortunate event. I will, however, generally observe, that after the surrender of Michillimackinac almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a party of the Miamies and Delawares, north from beyond lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wabash, and east from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility under the British standard, against the army I commanded, contrary to the most solemn assurances of a large portion of them to remain neutral — even the Ottawa chiefs from Arbacrotch, who formed the delegation to Washington the last summer, in whose friend-

ship I know you had great confidence, are among the hostile tribes and several of them distinguished leaders. Among the vast number of chiefs who led the hostile band, Tecumseh, Marpot, Logan, Walk-in-the-water, Split-Log, etc., are considered the principles. This numerous assemblage of savages, under the entire influence and direction of the British commander, enabled him to obstruct the only communication which I had with my country.

This communication had been opened from the settlements in the state of Ohio, two hundred miles through a wilderness, by the fatigues of the army which I marched to the frontier on the river Detroit. The body of the lake being commanded by the British armed ships, and the shores and rivers by gun boats, the army was totally deprived of all communication by water. On this extensive road, it depended for transportation of provisions, military stores, medicine, clothing and every other supply, on pack horses — all of its operations were successful until its arrival at Detroit, and in a few days it passed into the enemies' country, and all opposition seemed to fall before it. One month it remained in possession of this country, and was fed from its resources. In different directions, detachments penetrated sixty miles in the settled part of the province, and the inhabitants seemed satisfied with the change of situation which seemed to be taking place. The militia from Amherstburg were daily deserting, and the whole country, then under control of the army, was asking for protection. The Indians generally in the first instance, appeared to be neutralized, and determined to take no part in the contest. The fort of Amherstburg was 18 miles below my encampment. Not a single cannon or morter was on wheels suitable to carry before that place. I consulted my officers, whether it was expedient to make an attempt on it with the bayonet alone, without cannon, to make a break in the first instance. The council I called was of the opinion it was not. The greatest industry was exerted in making preparations, and it was not until the 7th of Aug. that two 24 pounders, and three howitzers were prepared. It was then my intention to have proceeded on the enterprise.

While the operations of the army were delayed by these

preparations, the clouds of adversity had been for some time and seemed still thickly to be gathering around me. The surrender of Michillimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcement from Niagra had arrived at Amherstburgh under the command of Col. Proctor. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of major Chambers, on the river Le French, with four field pieces, and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg; and in addition to this combination, an increase in force, contrary to all my expectations, the Wyandots, Chippawas, Ottawas, Pottawamies, Munsees, Delawares, &c. with whom I had the most friendly intercourses, at once passed over to Amherstburg, and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown and Maguago to intercept my communication. To open this communication, I detached major Vanhorn of the Ohio volunteers with 200 men to proceed as far as the river Raisin, under an expectation he would meet Capt. Brush with 150 men, volunteers from the state of Ohio, and a quantity of provisions for the army. An ambuscade was formed at Brownstown, and major Vanhorn's detachment defeated and returned to camp without effecting the object of the expedition.

In my letter of the 7th inst. you have the particulars of that transaction with a return of the killed and injured. Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from gen. Hall, commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two senior officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pass the Turkey river and river Aux Cannard, with 24 pounders, and that they could not be transported by water, as the Queen Charlotte, which carries eighteen twenty-three pounders, lay in the river Detroit above the mouth of the river Aux Cannard; and as it appeared indispensibly necessary to open the

communication to the river Raisen and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operation against Amherstburg, and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit. Fully intending, at that time, after the communication was opened, to recross, the river and pursue the object at Ambersburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation; I established a fortress on the banks of the river, a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of 300 men. On the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th inst. the army, excepting the garrison of 350 infantry and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of major Denny of the Ohio volunteers, recrossed the river and encamped at Detroit. In pursuance of the object of opening the communication, on which I considered the existence of the army depending, a detachment of 600 men under the command of lieutenant-colonel Miller, was immediately ordered. For a particular account of the proceedings of this detachment, and the memorable battle which was fought at Maguago, which reflects the highest honor on the American arms, I refer you to my letter of the 13th August inst. a duplicate of which is enclosed, marked G. Nothing however but honor was acquired by this victory; and it is a painful consideration, that the blood of seventy-five gallant men could only open the communications as far as points of their bayonets extended. The necessary care of the sick and wounded, and a very severe storm of rain, rendered the return to camp indispensably necessary for their own comfort. Capt. Brush, with his small detachment, and the provisions being still at the river Raisin and in a situation to be destroyed by the savages, on the 13th inst. in the evening I permitted cols. McArthur and Cass to select from their regiment four hundred of their most effective men, and proceed an upper route through the woods, which I had sent an express to capt. Brush to take, and had directed the militia of the river raisin to accompany him as a reinforcement. The force of the enemy continually encreasing, and the necessity of opening the communication and acting on the defensive, becoming more apparent, I had, previous to detaching cols. McArthur and Cass

on the 11th inst. evacuated and destroyed the fort on the opposite bank. On the 13th in the evening, gen. Brock arrived at Amherstburg about the hour cols. McArthur and Cass marched, of which at that time I had received no information.

On the 13th I received a summons from him to surrender fort Detroit, of which the paper marked A is a copy. My answer is marked B. At this time I had received no information from cols. McArthur and Cass. An express was immediately sent strongly escorted, with orders for them to return. On the 15th as soon as gen. Brock received my letter, his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, 3 miles below Detroit. At day light on the 16th (at which time I had received no information from cols. McArthur and Cass, my expresses sent the evening before, and in the night, having been prevented from passing by numerous bodies of Indians) the cannonade recommenced, and in a short time I received information, that the British army and Indians were landing below the Springwells, under cover of their ships of war. At this time the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops, and unacquainted to a camp life, having performed a laborious march, and having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen, and more had received wounds, in addition to which a large number being sick, and unprovided with medicine and the comforts necessary for their situation; are the general causes to which the strength of the army was thus reduced. The fort was at this time filled with women, children and the old and decrepid people of the town and country. They were unsafe in the town, as it was entirely open and exposed to the enemy's batteries. Back of the fort, above or below it, there was no safety for them on account of the Indians. In the first inst. the enemy's fire was principally directed against our batteries. Towards the close it was directed against the fort alone, and almost every shot and shell had their effect.

It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field — collect the whole force in the fort — or propose terms

of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage, because the contest could not have been sustained more than a day for want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, cols. McArthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have declared to adopt it. I well know the high responsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it on myself. It was dictated by a sense of duty, and a full conviction of its expediency. The bands of savages which had then joined the British force were numerous beyond any former example. Their numbers have since increased, and the history of the north of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than those savages have exhibited. A large portion of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded, would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been expended, the bayonets worn to the sockets. I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men, when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation.

It is impossible, in the nature of things, that an army could have been furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing and comforts for the sick, on pack horses, through a wilderness of 200 miles, filled with hostile savages. It was impossible, sir, that this little army, worn down by fatigue, by sickness, by wounds, and deaths, could have supported itself not only against the collected force of all the northern nations of Indians, but against the united strength of Upper Canada, whose population consists of more than twenty times the number contained in the territory of Michigan, aided by the principal part of the regular forces of the province, & the wealth and influence of the north-west and other trading establishments among the Indians, which have in

their employment and under their entire control more than 2000 white men. Before I close this dispatch it is a duty I owe my respectable associates in command colonels McArthur, Findlay, Cass, and Lieut. Col. Miller, to express my obligations to them for the prompt and judicious manner they have performed their respective duties. If aught has taken place during the campaign, which is honorable to the army, these officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them.

I have likewise to express my obligation to general Taylor, who has performed the duty of quarter master general for his great exertions in procuring everything in this department which it was possible to furnish for the convenience of the army; likewise to brigade major Jessup for the correct and punctual manner in which he has discharged his duty; and to the army generally for their exertion and the zeal they have manifested for the public interest. The death of Dr. Foster soon after he arrived at Detroit, was a severe misfortune to the army; it was increased by the capture of the Chachaga packet, by which the medicine and hospital stores were lost. He was commencing the best arrangements in the department of which he was the principal, with the very small means he possessed. I was likewise deprived of the necessary services of captain Partridge by sickness, the only officer of the corps of engineers attached to the army. All the officers and men have gone to their respective homes, excepting the 4th U. States regiment, and a small part of the first, and captain Dyson's company of artillery. Captain Dyson's company was left at Amherstburg, and the others are with the prisoners. They amount to about three hundred and forty. I have only to solicit an investigation of my conduct, as early as my situation and the state of things will admit; and to add the further request, that the government will not be unmindful of my associates in captivity, and of the families of those brave men who have fallen in the contest.

I have the honor to be, &c.

W. Hull, *Brig. Gen.,*
Commanding the N. W. Army of the U. S.

Issue Oct. 21, 1812.

A CARD.

Col. Symmes, of the senior division of the Ohio Militia, presents his respectful compliments to major General Brock, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces, *white* and *red,* in Upper Canada.

Col. Symmes observing, that by the 4th article of capitulation of Fort Detroit to Major General Brock, all public arms moving towards fort Detroit are to be delivered up. But as no place of deposit is pointed out by the capitulations, *forty thousand stand of arms* coming within the description, are at the service of Maj. Brock, if his Excellency will condescend to *come* and *take* them.

Independent Chronicle.

(From the *National Intelligencer.*)

Letter of Col. Cass, of the army late under the command of Brig. General Wm. Hull, to the Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10th, 1812.

Sir: Having been ordered on to this place by col. McArthur, for the purpose of communicating to the government such particulars respecting the expedition lately commanded by brig. gen. Hull, and its disastrous results, as might enable them correctly to appreciate the conduct of the officers and men, and to develope the causes which produced so foul a stain upon the national character, I have the honor to submit to your consideration the following statement.

When the forces landed in Canada, they landed with an ardent zeal and stimulated with the hope of conquest. No enemy appeared within view of us, and had an immediate and vigorous attack been made upon Malden, it would doubtless have fallen an easy victory. I know gen. Hull afterwards declared he regretted this attack had not been made, and he had every reason to believe success would have crowned his efforts. The reason given for delaying our operations was to mount our heavy cannon, and to afford to the Canadian militia time and

opportunity to quit obnoxious service. In the course of two weeks, the number of their militia who were embodied had decreased by desertion from six hundred to one hundred men; and, in the course of three weeks, the cannon were mounted, the ammunition fixed, and every preparation made for an immediate investment of the fort. At a council, which were present all the field officers, and which was held two days before our preparations were completed, it was unanimously agreed to make an immediate attempt to accomplish the object of the expedition.

If by waiting two days we could have the service of our heavy artillery, it was agreed to wait; if not, it was determined to go without it and to attempt the place by storm. This opinion appeared to correspond with the views of the general and the day was appointed for commencing our march. He declared to me, that he considered himself pledged to lead the army to Malden. The ammunition was placed in the waggons; the cannon were embarked on board the floating batteries, and every requisite article was prepared. The spirit and zeal, the ardor and animation displayed by the officers and men on learning the near accomplishment of their wishes, was a sure and sacred pledge that in the hour of trial they would not be found wanting in their duty to their country and themselves. But a change of measures in opposition to the wishes and opinions of all the officers was adopted by the general. The plan of attacking Malden was abandoned and instead of acting offensively, he broke up our camp, evacuated Canada, and recrossed the river in the night, without even the shadow of an enemy to injure us. We left to the tender mercy of the enemy the miserable Canadians who had joined us, and the *protection* we afforded them was but a passport to vengeance. This fatal and unaccountable step dispirited the troops, and destroyed the little confidence which a series of timid, irresolute, and indecisive measures had left in the commanding officer.

About the tenth of August, the enemy received a reinforcement of 400 men. On the twelfth, the commanding officers of the three regiments (the fourth was absent) were informed through a medium which admitted of no doubt that

the general had stated that a capitulation would be necessary. They on the same day addressed to Gov. Meigs of Ohio a letter of which the following is an extract:

"Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however it may astonish you, as much as if told you by one of us. Even a c..... is talked of by the..... The bearer will fill the vacancy."

The doubtful fate of this letter rendered it necessary to use circumspection in its details, and therefore these blanks were left. The words 'capitulation' will fill the first, and 'commanding general' the other. As no enemy was near us, and as the superiority of our force was manifest, we could see no necessity for capitulating, nor propriety in alluding to it. We therefore determined in the last resort to incur the responsibility of divesting the general of his command. This plan was eventually prevented by two of the commanding officers of regiments being ordered upon detachment.

On the 13th. The British took a position opposite to Detroit, and began to throw up works. During that and the two following days, they pursued their object without any interruption and established a battery for two 18 pounders and an 8 inch howitzer. About sunset on the evening of the 14th, a detachment of 850 men from the regiment commanded by Col. M'Arthur and myself was ordered to march to the river Raisin, to escort the provisions which had some time remained there protected by a party under the command of Capt. Brush.

On Saturday the 13th, about one o'clock, a flag of truce arrived from Sandwich, bearing a summons from General Brock for a surrender of the town and fort of Detroit, stating he could no longer restrain the fury of the savages. To this an immediate and spirited refusal was returned. About four o'clock their batteries began to play upon the town. The fire was returned and continued without interruption and with little effect till dark. Their shells were thrown till 11 o'clock.

At daylight the firing on both sides recommenced; about the same time the enemy began to land troops at the Springwells, three miles below Detroit, protected by two of their armed vessels. Between six and seven o'clock they had effected

their landing, and immediately took up their line of march. They moved in a close column of platoons, twelve in front, upon the bank of the river.

The fourth regiment was stationed in the fort; the Ohio volunteers, and a part of the Michigan militia, behind some pickets, in a situation in which the whole flank of the enemy would have been exposed. The residue of the Michigan militia were in the upper part of the town, to resist the incursions of the savages, two 24-pounders, loaded with grape shot, were posted upon a commanding eminence ready to sweep the advancing column. In this situation the superiority of our position was apparent, and our troops, in the eager expectation of victory, awaited the approach of the enemy. Not a sigh of discontent broke upon the ear; not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious that his individual exertion should contribute to the general result.

When the head of their column arrived within five hundred yards of our line, orders were received from General Hull for the whole to retreat to the fort, and for the 24-pounders not to open upon the enemy. One universal burst of indignation was apparent upon the receipt of this order. Those, whose conviction was the deliberate result of a dispassionate examination of passing events, saw the folly and impropriety of crowding 1100 men into a little work, which 300 could fully man, and into which the shot and shells of the enemy were falling. The fort was in this manner filled; the men were directed to stack their arms, and scarcely was an opportunity afforded of moving. Shortly after a white flag was hung out upon the walls. A British officer rode up to enquire the cause. A communication passed between the commanding generals, which ended in the capitulation submitted to you. In entering into this capitulation, the general took counsel from his own feelings only. Not an officer was consulted. Not one anticipated a surrender, till he saw the white flag displayed. Even the women were indignant at so shameful a degradation of the American character and all felt as they should have felt, but he who held in his hands the reigns of authority.

Our morning report had that morning made our effective men present fit for duty, 1060, without including the detachment before alluded to, and without including 300 of the Michigan militia on duty. About dark on Saturday evening the detachment sent to escort the provisions received orders from Gen. Hull to return with as much expedition as possible. About ten o'clock the next day they arrived within sight of Detroit. Had a firing been heard, or any resistance visible, they would have immediately advanced and attacked the rear of the enemy. The situation, in which this detachment was placed, although the result of accident, was the best for annoying the enemy and cutting off his retreat that could have been selected. With his raw troops enclosed between two fires and no hopes of succour, it is hazarding little to say, that very few would have escaped.

I have been informed by Col. Findlay, who saw the return of their quarter-master general the day after the surrender, that their whole force of every description, white, red and black, was 1030. They had twenty-nine platoons, twelve in a platoon, of men dressed in uniform. Many of these were evidently Canadian militia. The rest of their militia increased their white force to about seven hundred men. The number of the Indians could not be ascertained with any degree of precision; not many were visible. And in the event of an attack upon the town and fort, it was a species of force which could have afforded no material advantage to the enemy.

In endeavoring to appreciate the motives and to investigate the cause, which led to an event so unexpected and dishonorable, it is impossible to find any solution in the relative strength of the contending parties, or in the measures of resistance in our power. That we were far superior to the enemy; that upon any ordinary principles of calculation we would have defeated them, the wounded and indignant feelings of every man there will testify.

A few days before the surrender, I was informed by General Hull, we had 400 rounds of 24 pound shot fixed and about 100,000 cartridges made. We surrendered with the fort 40 barrels of powder and 2500 stand of arms.

The state of our provisions had not been generally under-

stood. On the day of the surrender we had fifteen days of provision of every kind on hand. Of meat there was plenty in the country, and arrangements had been made for purchasing and grinding flour. It was calculated we could readily procure three months' provisions, independent of 150 barrels flour, 300 head of cattle which had been forwarded from the state of Ohio, and which remained at the river Raisin under Capt. Brush, within reach of the army.

But had we been totally destitute of provisions, our duty and our interest undoubtedly was to fight. The enemy invited us to meet him in the field.

By defeating him the whole country would have been open to us, and the object of our expedition gloriously and successfully obtained. If we had been defeated we had nothing to do but to retreat to the fort, and make the best defense which circumstances and our situation rendered practicable. But basely to surrender without firing a gun — tamely to submit without raising a bayonet — disgracefully to pass in review before an enemy as inferior in quality as in the number of his forces, were circumstances, which excited feelings of indignation more easily felt than described. To see the whole of our men flushed with the hope of victory, eagerly awaiting the approaching contest, to see them afterwards, dispirited, hopeless and desponding, at least 500 shedding tears because they were not allowed to meet their country's foe, and to fight their country's battles, excited sensations, which no American has ever before had cause to feel, and which, I trust in God, will never again be felt, while one man remains to defend the standard of the Union.

I am expressly authorized to state that Col. M'Arthur and Col. Findlay and Lieut Col. Miller viewed this transaction in the light which I do. They know and feel, that no circumstance in our situation, none in that of the enemy, can excuse a capitulation so dishonorable and unjustifiable. This too is the universal sentiment among the troops; and I shall be surprised to learn, that there is one man, who thinks it was necessary to sheath his sword, or to lay down his musket.

I was informed by General Hull the morning after the

capitulation, that the British forces consisted of 1800 regulars, and that he surrendered to prevent the effusion of human blood. That he magnified their regular force nearly fivefold, there can be no doubt. Whether the philanthropic reason assigned by him is a sufficient justification for surrendering a fortified town, and army and a territory, is for the government to determine. Confident I am, that had the courage and conduct of the general been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been brilliant and successful as it now is disastrous and dishonorable.

Very respectfully, sir,
I have the honor to be,
Your most obedient servant,
LEWIS CASS, *Col.*
3d Regt. Ohio Vol.

The Hon. WILLIAM EUSTIS,
Secretary of War.

Besides the facts so clearly and lucidly stated in Col. Cass' report, there are other material and important facts that ought to be made public which would not perhaps properly enter into a military report. Let one suffice for the present.

After the surrender of Detroit, the British and American officers of necessity mingled together and entered into conversation. In conversation with Col. Cass, on the subject of the present war, its probable duration, etc., an officer of the British army, of as high a grade as captain, said, in such a manner as evidenced his own belief in it, that the *New England States* WOULD REMAIN NEUTRAL *in this war;* that a CONVENTION WAS TO MEET IN MASSACHUSETTS, the object or effect of which would be to ensure this neutrality! Col. Cass told the officer he had mistaken the character of his (Col. Cass's) countrymen. We trust in Heaven he had; but the doctrine lately laid down as orthodox in Faneuil Hall, with the contemporaneous language of the federal prints, had a most "awful squinting" towards such a state. We publish this fact at the present moment with no other view than to shew to the opposition how an enemy, judging from their conduct, has dared to calculate on the disaffection to the general cause.

Nat. Intel.

CHILLICOTHE, *October 7.*

Important. — The advance of the northwestern army, consisting of Payne's brigade of Kentucky volunteers, Garrett's troop of horse, and the 17th regiment of regulars, all under the command of Brig. Gen. *Winchester,* moved, not long since, from fort Wayne towards fort Defiance. By Colonel James Dunlap, who has lately arrived from fort Wayne, we understand, that, on last Wednesday General Harrison, at St. Mary's, received an express from Gen. Winchester, giving the information, that the American army lay encamped near fort Defiance; that the British and Indians to the number of 3000, lay within three miles; and that they had *six field pieces.* General Harrison immediately marched for fort Defiance, with more than 2000 mounted riflemen. Gen. Tupper and a few of the Ohio officers, started, also, to join the corps of the mounted volunteers. This account confirms the information, transmitted by Gen. Kelso, of Pennsylvania, to Gov. Meigs. We shall, probably, soon hear of a battle — and we trust, the result will be glorious to our country.

We understand, that Col. Samuel Finlay's regiment, of mounted riflemen, and Major Jenkinson's battalion, (both Ohio volunteers) have marched with Gen. Harrison to fort Defiance.

We understand, that Gen. Tupper's brigade of Ohio volunteers, has marched towards Manary's block-house.

NEW LISBON, October 2.

It is confidently reported that General Harrison with an army of 6000 men has had an engagement with a corps of 300 British and 2000 Indians at Ft. Wayne; that the enemy left 1000 killed on the field of battle — and that the loss on our side is about two hundred in killed and wounded.

From the late preparations and movements of the army under Gen. Harrison there is no doubt that a battle has taken place before this time — and it is very probable that tomorrow's mail will furnish us with some particulars, if not official accounts, if the above report should not prove premature.

A few days ago a small party of British landed at Sandusky; shortly after a party of our militia appeared in sight, when a signal gun was fired for the British to repair on board their vessels, which was immediately done — from this has grown a mighty tale.

Issue of October 28, 1812.

(From the *Western Intelligencer.*)

The council with the Indian tribes on the western frontier having been concluded, the commissioners deem it their duty to give to their fellow citizens a concise view of the proceedings and result.

The Delaware and Shawanoe tribes together with several of the Kickapoos, Seneca, Mingoe and Wyandots attended.

The commissioners according to their instructions have endeavored to ascertain their views and dispositions. They informed them of the inevitable consequence of any act of hostility on their party. That the president stood in no need of their assistance in the war with G. B. and that for their own sakes he desired them to remain quiet and pursue their usual occupations. — The chiefs in behalf of the tribes that attended have made professions of friendship and attachment to the U. S. have in the most positive manner declared their determination to adhere to and observe the existing treaties, to remain neutral in the present war, and to reject the overtures of the British (which they state to have been repeated and pressing,) to engage in it — They have engaged by the most solemn promise to restrain their young men from hostile acts against us, and have agreed to be responsible for their conduct, and to prohibit hostile Indians from going to their towns, and to give notice of any premeditated hostility — The commissioners presume not to judge of the sincerity of professions, especially of the professions made by savages it being the alone prerogative of the supreme ruler of the Universe to judge the heart, but considering that their conduct will accord with their obvious interest, and having taken every possible means to ascertain their views, have from the result of their inquiries formed the opinion

that their professions are sincere, and accordingly in virtue of their instructions given the tribes who attended assurance that no act of hostility will be committed against them by any citizens of the U. S. while they observe a peaceable conduct.

The commissioners were of opinion that the non-attendance at the council by any tribe after having been invited, was such evidence of an hostile disposition, as to justify the suspension of the delivery of their annuities or presents — No goods, either as annuities or present, have been delivered except to the tribes who attended, nor has ammunition or other implements of war been given in any case.

R. J. MEIGS,
T. WORTHINGTON,
J. MORROW,
Commissioners.

BUFFALO, October 13, 1812.

From several of the American prisoners who were captured on board of the Adams we have the following account from Detroit:

The Adams left Malden on the 5th and arrived at Port Erie on the 8th. They state that the expedition which went against Fort Wayne on the 14th of September, had returned to Malden on the 4th of October unsuccessful. The expedition consisted of about 400 regulars and militia, and 1500 Indians — they had proceeded towards Fort Wayne until they came within 16 miles of an American army, which they learned from a prisoner their spies took, to be Harrison's. They then precipitately retreated, leaving much of their ammunition, etc., on the ground. It was understood at Malden that Harrison was advancing upon Detroit, with his army. — The Queen Charlotte was detained at Detroit, on account of the expected arrival of Gen. Harrison. At Detroit much property had been destroyed by the Indians. The town was full of Indians. It is much feared that the savages will massacre all the Americans at Detroit. The above gentleman did not understand that any scalps were paid for by the British. The British commanders had in several instances ransomed American prisoners taken by the Indians.

LEXINGTON, (Ky.) Oct. 13.

Extract of a letter to the editor, dated, fort Defiance, October 3, 1812.

"The north-western army, under the command of Gen. Winchester, marched from fort Wayne, on the 22d September, and pursued Wayne's route down the Miami, towards the old fort Defiance, where it arrived on the 30th. During the latter part of the march we were frequently annoyed by the enemy. Our advance party of spies fell in with a body of Indians, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which one of the spies was slightly wounded, and several of the enemy — the exact number could not be ascertained only from appearance, as the Indians, whenever it is practicable, carry off their dead. The day before Ensign Ligget of the regulars, with four men, were unfortunately surprised by this party of Indians and scalped. The loss of Ensign Ligget is much to be lamented, as he was a promising young officer, remarkable for his bravery and intrepidity. He had left the company of spies with his four companions, with a view to examine the country round fort Defiance, and had advanced several miles ahead of the party, when they were killed. This annoyance from the enemy greatly retarded our movements, as it was impossible to ascertain to any degree their situation or force. In crossing the river, however, their whole movements were discovered. The British with their artillery from Detroit, and a large party of Indians, were progressing towards fort Wayne. After engaging our spies, and annoying our advanced guard, they faced to the right-about and retreated precipitately. Owing to the peculiar situation of the army, (being short of provision) it was impossible by forced marches to interrupt them — supplies have since reached the army.

"Governor Harrison returned to the army on the 2d October and will again act as commander-in-chief, having received that appointment from the president of the U. States. Gen. Winchester will act as second in command. We are now flattered more than ever, with a prospect of success — the campaign, I entertain not the least doubt, will produce incalculable benefit to the country, and terminate to the honor and glory of

the Kentuckians. The enemy has in every direction retreated before us, leaving an extensive territory to be occupied by our army — where a chain of fortified posts will be established, in order to facilitate the supplies necessary for a speedy conquest of Upper Canada. Very extensive arrangements have been made and are now making to accomplish that object.

"Headquarters will continue at this place for several days, until suitable fortifications, store-houses, etc., are erected. In the meantime the army will be augmented — and at the Rapids (fifty-six miles below this place,) the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops will join.

Names of Persons Killed.

"Ensign Liggett, of the 7th regt. regulars.

Alexander McCoy, of Georgetown, Scott's regt.

Wyatt Stepp, Guy Hinton, Wm. Bevis, —— Mitchell, all of Woodford, volunteers in Capt. Virgil McCracken's company.

Another extract, dated, October 4, 1812.

"General Harrison informed the army today, that he had no doubt from documents which he has just received that the army driven before us, was the whole British force of Upper Canada. He leaves us today to join the right wing of the army, but will join us again at the Rapids — meantime we shall be engaged in rebuilding the old fort, and probably shall not march hence under three weeks — but this depends on the movements of the right wing, at Worcester on the lake."

Another of the same date.

"There is no doubt now, but Gen. Har-

[line cut out in binding paper]

discretionary powers. We expect as soon as his whole force is collected, (which it is supposed will be near 10,000 men) that he will invade Upper Canada. Very extensive magazines are to be provided. Seven or eight hundred men start for the Rapids immediately, where it is supposed they will find an enemy to disperse.

PARIS, (Ky.) October 10.

A letter from Alexander R. Depew, esq., to a gentleman in this town, dated St. Mary's, October 1, 1812.

This day at twelve o'clock we arrived at this place, after a rapid journey of forty miles per day. We had heard on the road that Gen. Harrison was about to march to Detroit, and we wished if possible to join him before he set out. After we had passed Piqua about six miles, we met Capt. Trotter, of the Lexington dragoons, who informed us that Gen. Harrison would set out with all his army for Detroit in three weeks; that he had ordered Captain Garrard's troop of horse, from their march towards fort Defiance, back to this place to recruit their horses to fight the British in Canada; and that during those three weeks the mounted volunteers were to scour the frontier towards the head waters of the Wabash, and destroy all the Indian towns in that quarter. But an unexpected event, has for a time thwarted all these designs. A part of the army, composed of three regiments commanded by Cols. Allen, Scott, and Lewis also the regulars under Col. Wells, and Capt. Garrard's dragoons, all under the command of General Winchester, were on their march to fort Defiance, cutting their road as they went, and when they arrived within about four miles of the fort, they were surrounded by so large a body of Indians, that they were unable to proceed backwards or forwards. Yesterday about two o'clock P. M. an express arrived to General Harrison, from General Winchester, stating that the detachment under his command was entirely surrounded by a very large number of Indians; that they had been compelled to fortify their camp, by making a breast-work of logs on all sides of them. The breast-work is about five feet high. The express stated that in consequence of the Indians having surrounded them, they had received no provisions for several days; that they had nothing but beeves, and but few of them. And he desired immediate relief, lest his troops should be either starved to death or cut to pieces by the Indians. Two hours after the express came Gen. Harrison with his whole army marched to his relief. The express was brought by Thos. D. Carneal of Frankfort, and Abraham Ruddell. They say that

from the trails of the Indians they must be equal to the army under Gen. Winchester (which is composed of two thousand men.) They further state that they saw the tracks of four or five wagons or carriages by which they suppose the Indians have cannon with them. They further state that five of the spies belonging to Allen's regiment were killed by the Indians and two wounded.

The army under General Harrison has advanced about twenty-five miles from this place. Capt. Trimble and myself shall set out tomorrow morning at daylight with five or six hundred mounted riflemen and infantry from the state of Ohio to join the army. We expect to have a battle the day after tomorrow, which will be the day on which we expect to reach fort Defiance.

N. B. Richard M. Johnson commands the regiment of mounted volunteers from Kentucky.

CHILLICOTHE, October 14.

IMPORTANT.

Extract of a letter from his excellency R. J. Meigs, to a gentleman in this place.

[Line showing date, if any, cut out in binding. — EDITOR.]

"Our army of Ohio is encamped at Manary's 4 miles from the Indian villages. — Gen. Harrison and Gen. Tupper, when they arrived at fort Defiance found the Indians fled — and the British artillery supposed to be taken by water down the Maumee. Gen. Harrison was on Sunday last passing down the Maumee hoping to cut off their retreat to Brownstown. Two hundred wagons marched from St. Mary's 3 days ago with biscuit, flour and bacon for Defiance. Fort Wayne is again beseiged by Indians — The troops of Ohio, Gen. Harrison does not wish to advance farther than Manary's until he orders. — We have with us a traveling forge, three ammunition wagons, four pieces of artillery one thousand two hundred troops one company of spies, one company of dragoons and at last have tents and camp equipage in good order. I shall join the army tomorrow."

OCTOBER 17.

We understand that before Gen. Harrison and the mounted volunteers arrived at fort Defiance the Indians had all fled. Gen. Winchester pursued them with the detachment under his command, and General Harrison endeavored to cut off their retreat at Brownstown, but was not able to bring them to an engagement. Gen. Harrison has since discharged his mounted volunteers for thirty days' service. Generals Finlay and Kerr, with the rest of the volunteers from this neighborhood have returned home. Gen. Harrison is also expected here in the course of a day or two. Four regiments under the command of Gen. Winchester, are now at fort Defiance — two regiments are at fort Jennings, on the Auglaize river — one regiment is at St. Mary's — and three regiments of Ohio volunteers are at Manary's block-house.

Issue November 11.

Brigadier General Perkins has returned from a journey to the headquarters of General Harrison. He was accompanied on his return by General Harrison. — General Wadsworth will return home, and General Perkins is to take the command of the fifteen hundred men and proceed on to join the army under the command of General Harrison. Gen. Harrison left Huron on Monday of last week, and we are told that General Perkins marches with his detachment this week.

Issue, November 25.

LATEST FROM GEN. HARRISON.

A letter from Gen. Harrison, dated at Huron (near Cleavland) on the 1st of November, inst. to a gentleman in this town, states —

That he, (Gen. Harrison) had then under his command 4500 men well appointed — that by the 10th he should arrive at Sandusky — by the 20th he would be at Miami — at this point, which is only 6 days' march from Detroit, Gen. Winchester, with 2 or 3000 men it is expected will form a junction with Harrison. — The army was well provisioned.

CHILLICOTHE, October 28, 1812.

VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS.

Yesterday two regiments of Virginia volunteers, under the command of Gen. *Leftwich,* arrived at this place. The appearance of both officers and soldiers is highly honorable to the patriotic state from which they came. While *such men* leave the enjoyments of domestic life, for the dangers and perils of the field, our national rights will be respected, our wrongs redressed, and the glory of our fathers will pass unsullied to remote generations. We understand, they will soon move towards Franklinton, to join the right wing of the western army.

A company of the U. S. regulars under Capt. Elliott, and a detachment of upwards of 30 regulars under Lieut. Campbell marched yesterday to Franklinton.

MEMORANDUM

Of public stores ordered from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, in September, 1812, for the use of the northwestern army.

September 9, 10,000 pairs of shoes, 5,000 blankets, 100 barrels of powder, 1,000 felling axes, 500 spades, 500 shovels, 350 mattocks, 50 pick-axes, 300 facine-axes, 200 grass-hooks, 50 briar-scythes, 30 whip and 30 cross-cut saws, with files, 20 broad-axes, 20 adzes and three sets carpenter tools, 500 fathom of pack cords. 21st, 5,000 blankets. 25th, 10,000 pair shoes. 29th, equipments for 250 cavalry, saddles, bridles, etc., 1,000 axes and 30,000 flints.

List of ordnance and other military stores, sent from Washington City to Pittsburgh, since 1st September, 1812.

September 18, 20—18 pounders, 8—12 do, 7—6 do, 3—5½ inch howitzers, 5 boxes of harness, 6 gun carriages for 6 pounders, 20 barrels of musket, 10 barrels of rifle powder.

From Fredericktown.

470 common and 10 wall tents, 200 swords and about 25 pair pistols, 100 reams musket cart'g papr, 700 pounds of common cartridge paper.

Stores sent from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. September 3, 250 horseman's swords, 250 pair pistols. 8th, 50 reams cartridge paper and 2 barrels flints. 29th, 10,000 pair woolen socks. October 7, 5,000 round jackets, 5006 pair of pantaloons.

Woolen cloth made up and forwarded immediately to the west, besides the winter clothing for Col. Miller's regiment ordered some days before.

100 watch-coats ordered from Philadelphia October 17th.

Stores sent from Harper's Ferry to Pittsburgh from the 11th to the 20th September. 5,000 muskets and bayonets. 1,000 rifles, 500 carbines, 500 pistols, 110 horsemen's swords.

Issue December 2.

MILITARY MEMORANDA.

On Sunday last, left this place for the north-western army, the following munitions of war, etc.

Twenty-eight gun carriages, for eighteen pounders, including several brass twelves, sixes and howitzers.

A large quantity of fixed ammunition for cannon, and a very extensive supply of musket cartridges.

Several traveling forges; and a vast quantity of different articles necessary for a winter campaign.

These supplies employ a train of nearly one hundred wagons and teams. They are conducted by *Capt. Joseph Wheaton*, of the quartermaster-general's department, an old revolutionary officer.

The country looks with anxiety towards the heroes of the northwestern army. From the preparatory measures which have been adopted, the complete equipment and extensive supplies which have been furnished; and above all, from the spirit and enterprise of the officers and men composing this army, it is confidently expected that the deeds of this winter's campaign, will be recorded in the brightest pages of American history.

Pitt. Mercury.

CHILLICOTHE, Nov. 18.

Gen. Harrison has been to Huron, and has since returned to Franklinton. The Virginia troops are at Delaware. The Pennsylvania troops have passed through Mansfield, on their route to the Rapids. The left wing of the army under Gen. Winchester is still at fort Winchester (late fort Defiance.)

Col. Puthuff arrived here express this morning from Franklinton, which place he left late last night. He states that General Harrison had just received a letter from Gen. Tupper, dated the 9th instant, giving information, that his spies which had been on an expedition to the Rapids of the Miami, discovered at that place two gun-boats, a schooner and nine batteaux, with a considerable body of British, Canadians and Indians, who had visited that place for the purpose of procuring corn and other produce, and to prevent our troops from descending the river in boats. A captain of the party was taken prisoner by Gen. Tupper's spies and brought into camp. On Wednesday last, Gen. Tupper started with 650 men and one six pounder for the Rapids, to cut off their retreat, and secure the provisions for the use of the American army. Gen. Winchester was notified of Gen. Tupper's expedition. From the character of General Tupper we have no doubt but every exertion will be used to accomplish so important a design; and as the men under his command are select volunteers from his part of the army, we are conscious they will acquit themselves with honor.

Issue of December 10.

CHRONICLE OFFICE,

FRANKLINTON, (O.) Nov. 19, 1812.

An express arrived here this morning with a dispatch from Brigadier General TUPPER, containing his report to Gen. HARRISON, of his late expedition to the Rapids of the Miami, for the purpose of driving off a body of Indians and British who had assembled there to take off a quantity of corn which remains in the fields at that place. Gen. Tupper arrived with

his command at the Rapids undiscovered by the enemy, in the night of the 13th inst. He immediately made a disposition for passing the river, and some few of our men got over, but the greater part of them missed the ford and many of them were in great danger of drowning — they were however rescued by the few horse which Gen. T. had with him, but lost a part of their arms. As soon as the day appeared, and they were discovered by the enemy, the gun and other boats that were in the river, slipped their cables and escaped down the lake. — The Indians, however, more brave than their allies, crossed over on horses and made several violent attacks upon our troops — They were received with firmness, driven back, and forced to recross the river with considerable loss.

Gen. Tupper finding it impossible to cross the river, and being entirely out of provisions, as the men took nothing with them except what they carried on their backs, were obliged to return — four were killed on our side, and one wounded — the enemy were seen to carry off many of their dead and wounded in the action on the land, and many more were knocked off their horses in recrossing the river — The Indians were commanded by the Wyandot chief Splitlog, who was very conspicuous, being mounted upon a fine white charger. This chief was supposed to have been killed or wounded, as another Indian was upon his horse at the close of the action.

The following is the Order issued by Gen. Harrison on the subject of this Expedition.

North W. Army,

Headquarters, Franklinton, 19th Nov., 1812.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The commanding general returns his thanks to Brigadier General Tupper and the corps which lately advanced to the Miami Rapids, for the perseverance, zeal, activity, and bravery with which they conducted themselves on that enterprise. A casual circumstance only, and one which neither the general or his men could control, prevented them from surprising and cutting to pieces a detachment of the enemy, equal in numbers to their own. The measures of Gen. Tupper, appear to be highly

judicious, both in his advance to the enemy, and resisting their attacks. The general is sorry that any circumstances in an affair which reflects honor on almost the whole of the troops engaged in it, should deserve his censure: Such, however, is merited, by the small detachment, which, in the face of a positive order from their commander, left their ranks to gather corn, and pursue a drove of hogs. — But for this disorderly conduct, Gen. Tupper would have brought back in safety his whole command. The commanding general feels, however, so much more to praise than to blame, in the conduct of Gen. Tupper's detachment, that he derives no small satisfaction in exhibiting it as a worthy example of military spirit and enterprise to the rest of his army.

(Copy.)

NATHL. F. ADAMS,

[title not legible—EDITOR.]

We are informed by Maj. Shannon, of Col. Rayne's regiment of Ohio militia, that the remainder of the detachment, under the command of Gen. Perkins, would march from Huron for Sandusky, as soon as a supply of provisions should arrive; that he met a large convoy of supplies going on, which must have ere this arrived, so that we think the whole of Gen. Perkins' brigade must have advanced as far as Sandusky Rapids. It is said they are there to await the orders of Gen. Harrison.

Issue of December 16, 1812.

We present our readers a short itinerary of the road from Pittsburgh by the way of this place and Cleaveland, to Detroit, together with a few descriptive remarks upon the country through which it passes. This road is several hundred miles nigher than to go down the river Ohio and pass up through the western part of this state. When we consider the conveniencies of bridges and ferries on this road, it is preferable to any other through the state. Until the traveler arrives at Sandusky rapids, he will every few miles find all the accommodations usually attendant upon civilized life, in a new settlement.

Before the disaster of Gen Hull, he might have lodged every night during his journey, from Pittsburgh to Detroit, under the hospitable roof of civilization. Every stream that cannot be forded even in the winter season, has now either a bridge or a ferry across it, until we arrive at the Miami of the lake. Previous to our late disasters in the Michigan territory there was a flourishing settlement at the crossings of this river near the spot where Gen. Wayne in August, '94, defeated the Indians. A collector of the customs was resident here, who, it was said collected a larger share of the public revenue, than any other collector on the shore of lake Erie. There was also at the river Raisin a flourishing settlement of whites both of French and English descent, scattered along on both sides of the river for several miles up. The principal settlement on this river, commenced about four miles from lake Erie, at the first rapid.

Brownstown is an Indian village, situated a mile above lake Erie, on Detroit River, opposite Malden.

After the traveler leaves Cleaveland, he may, if he please, travel on the dry sandy beach of lake Erie, for a considerable part of the way to Sandusky, through what is improperly called the Miami Swamp, the country is flat, but not more so, than the road from Urbana, to Detroit. The traveler is there subjected to travel a distance of one hundred and forty miles, without the appearance of a dwelling of civilized man, except it be occasionally a block-house, until he falls into the road from Pittsburgh at the rapids of the Miami. We have put down the names of some of the principal stages from Pittsburgh to Detroit, the distances of those places from each other, and from Pittsburgh; and the names of some of the innkeepers on the route. In some instances we have put down the names of persons who have abandoned their homes since the war, but who were permanent settlers and will return as soon as our government shall resume its authority in the Michigan territory. We have mentioned no names of persons as resident at any place this side of Sandusky river who are not now actually residing at those places.

Pittsburgh to	*Miles*	*W. dis.*	*Inkeep*
Beaver	28	28	
Greersburgh	12	40	
Poland, Ohio	20	60	Kirtland.
Youngstown	6	66	Rayne & Hillman.
Liberty	5	71	Adams.
Warren	7	78	
Nelson	14	92	Garret.
Aurora	10	102	Shelden.
			Bissel.
Cleveland Mills	20	122	Miles.
Cleveland Shore on Lake Erie	6	128	Carter.
			Wallace.
Rocky River	7	135	
Dover	6	141	Taylor.
Black River	14	155	Reed.
Vermilion River	10	165	Sturges.
Huron	20	185	Sprague.
Rapids of Sandusky	36	221	
Rapids of Miami	34	255	Spafford.
Raisin River	28	283	Godfrey.
Brownstown	18	301	
Detroit	18	319	

This state has given but seven votes for President and Vice-President of the United States. David Abbot, Esq., did not attend in consequence of sickness. Every elector present voted for Madison and Gerry.

Issue December 23.

FRANKFORT, (KEN.) December 9.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in the left wing of the North Western Army, to the Editor of the Reporter, dated.

"CAMP 6 MILES BELOW FORT WINCHESTER, NOV. 22.

"LOGAN, with 20 or 30 friendly Indians were lately ordered by gen. Harrison to examine the movements and situation of the enemy, and make report to him. At the rapids this party was discovered, and dispersed.—Logan and six others arrived a few days ago at our Camp—the rest of the party with Lewis

and Black-Hoof escaped in another direction. I have not understood that any of them were taken by the enemy.

"To day Logan and two of his Indians started towards the Rapids, and returned about ten o'clock at night himself and one of his men wounded.—The third man was left behind to bring the scalps which had been taken from the enemy. Logan was shot thro' the body, and the other Indian through the hip —the one mortal the other but slight. I have not learned all the particulars of this unfortunate affair.—From the very dangerous situation of Logan, it was deemed improper that he should indulge in answering questions, although his composure, presence of mind and cheerfulness, would willingly have satisfied the curiosity of all who might choose to make enquiries about the battle in which he had been engaged. It seems in passing from our camp, they were early in the day taken prisoners by party of 8, of which Winamack (a celebrated hostile chief) was one, one other was considered a British officer from the dress. About sunset the prisoners resolved to liberate themselves, or fall a sacrifice. They succeeded in killing at the same instant Winamack the British officer, and one other Indian (as Logan expressed it;) the 5 remaining after discharging their pieces, fled with precipitancy, leaving those that were killed and two horses. I fear the best efforts of our Surgeons will be unavailing. He has fought bravely, and will die firmly.—I shall deplore his loss as I would that of a great man, for he is really such."

BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN BROUGH.

[The following article is reprinted with slight corrections, from a Marietta paper, published some years ago. — E. O. R.]

The wrecking, a few years ago, of the old jail just opposite the Court House at Marietta brought to mind several historic facts of no mean importance. This building was a little more than fifty years old, having been erected in 1848 on the site of the pioneer Court House which was the first Hall of Justice in the Northwest Territory. The building was forty-five feet in length, thirty-nine feet in breadth and two stories high. The walls were three feet thick and were made of double tiers of yellow poplar logs. The front room in the upper story was the court-room. It was 40 by 30 and lighted by seven windows. The two lower rooms were occupied by the jailer and his family. The jail was in the rear part of the building, which was very strongly built and from which, it is stated, no prisoner ever escaped. The jury room was in the rear of the second story over the jail. A cupola surmounted the roof in which was hung the same bell that was hung in the succeeding Court House and which has been in use till the occupancy of the present new Court House.

The theory that John Brough was born in the primitive Court House has been disputed for the reason that coupled with the above statement, the assertion is generally made that his father was Sheriff at the time. We quote from a Marietta newspaper issued Friday, June 12, 1863:

"Mr. Brough (John) was born in 1811 in Marietta, in the old Court House and jail, the dwelling-house part of which was occupied by his father, John Brough, Esq., who was at the time Sheriff of the county. The father was a native of England, and died in 1823, on the 'Cleona' farm just above the mouth of Duck Creek."

In the issue of Friday, Sept. 11, 1863 appears nearly the same statements:

"John Brough was born in 1811, in the dwelling-house part of the old jail, his father, John Brough, Esq., being Sheriff at the time. His father was a native of England, and died in 1823 on the 'Cleona' farm, and within a short time 'Jack' went to learn the printer's trade with the late Roal Prentissin in the office of the American Friend, then being only about twelve years of age."

From the "History of Marietta" by Thos. J. Sumers, page 167, we note the names of Sheriffs since 1788:

1788 September to 1802 Ebenezer Sproat.
1802 September to 1803, William Skinner.
1803 September to 1810, John Clark.
1810 September to 1812, William Skinner.
1812 to September to 1814, Timothy Buell.

It is readily seen that John Brough's father was never Sheriff of Washington county. Then what about the authenticity of the article? If wrong in one particular, then is it wrong in all? Of course, one will readily admit that it was possible for the elder Brough to occupy the dwelling-house part of the old Court House, and yet not be Sheriff. But why should he ever live in the building, since the records show that he neither was Sheriff nor Deputy Sheriff at the time of the birth of John Brough Jr.?

In searching the old records in the office of the Clerk of Courts, we find the following order on page 184:

"Journal of Common Pleas Court of Washington County, December 17, 1810. Ordered that license be granted to John Brough (Senior) to keep a tavern in the Court House.

(Signed) Paul Fearing,
Presiding Judge."

On page 253 of the same volume, under date of Dec. 14, 1811, we find where the license is renewed:

"Ordered that the license be issued to John Brough to keep tavern under the Court House." This is self explanatory and it becomes an established fact that John Brough, the "War

Governor" was born in the old pioneer Court House, and this place will doubtless soon be marked with a monument erected by the Ohio Historical Society.

JOHN BROUGH

In the same year that the Ohio University, at Athens, was founded there came to Ohio the family of John Brough, Sr., from Maryland, who settled in the valley of the Little Muskingum in Washington county. It was here that John Brough, the eminent war governor of Ohio was born in 1811. Brough was a born executive; strong in physique, resolute of countenance,he possessed that thorough-goingness and accurate execution which characterized his administration as governor of Ohio. His type was that representative of a strong and determined will, and it is in this particular that he distinguished himself in early life in college at Athens, in the field of journalism and in the governor's chair.

Brough attended such common schools as were afforded at that pioneer period, and in early life, like Ben Franklin, was apprenticed as a printer. It was his experience in the print shop that gave him such a comprehensive view of human nature and many facts here acquired by his absorbent mind, gave him a stock of information which stood copious draughts during his future career. He was not a theorist; his clear logic, apt perception, and open and frank disposition, moved him to apply promptly and well his new acquisition of knowledge. While a student at the Ohio University at Athens, his work was characterized by zealous effort and diligent research. He worked in the office of the Mirror during his leisure hours and thus defrayed his expenses. He was a great athlete, and while at Athens, tradition has it that he accomplished his greatest feat by kicking a football over the main building.

AS A JOURNALIST

Brough's executive ability coupled with his natural instinct for the printing business, made him an ideal newspaper man of his day. At twenty years of age we find him editing the West-

ern Republican at Marietta. His maiden issue appeared on the birthday of General Jackson in 1831, Jackson being his political idol at that time. After two years he, with his brother, bought the Ohio Eagle at Lancaster. This paper made him a political leader of the state. He entered politics, but retained his connection with the Eagle, and reported for the Ohio Statesman at Columbus until 1841, when the Brough brothers bought the Cincinnati Advertiser and changed its name to the Enquirer. The paper continued in his hands until 1848. Brough was much censured by the press at this period; he was criticised politically, attacked personally, and abused maliciously, but he always claimed to act on the defensive, and never apologized for the keenness of sarcasm often resorted to in these conflicts. An humorous incident is told concerning a brief article which appeared in the Louisville Courier-Journal, then edited by G. D. Prentice, while Brough was editing the Enquirer. Prentice was having some fun by thus describing his immense avoirdupois:

> "If flesh is grass as people say
> Then Jackie Brough's a load of hay."

Brough, having in mind the numerous criticisms of the press replied, "That he supposed he was hay judging from the number of asses that were nibbling at him."

PLACE IN HISTORY

Brough made his formal entry into politics in 1835, when he was elected Clerk of the Ohio Senate. Robert Lucas was then governor. Thomas Ewing and Thomas Morris represented the state in the national senate, while in the house of representatives at Washington, Thomas Corwin on whom the Ohio University conferred the M. A. Degree was becoming popular. Andrew Jackson as president had begun his war on the U. S. Bank, while Benton, Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Webster, Calhoun and Clay were among the leaders in national politics. On the slavery question Brough was conservative. This was the period when the Abolitionists referred to the national constitution as a "league with hell and a covenant with death".

Brough's position is clearly outlined in his speeches. During the progress of the war, Brough made a stirring speech at Marietta, calling on all loyal citizens regardless of party affiliations, to uphold the administration of Lincoln and suppress the war concluding as follows:

"This country, my friends, is the last hope of freemen throughout the world. It is the field upon which civilization has flourished and science began to accomplish its great purpose. The nations and people of the old world are marking its progress from day to day as it enfranchises man from every servitude. And are you going to give it up? Young men can you afford to give your posterity a heritage worse than that which your fathers gave to you? If you can, you are faithless, not only to your own manhood, but to your God. You are bound to have one country, one flag, and one destiny. And what country shall this be? What but the country you had before the rebellion raised its parricidal hand to strike it down. That country with the incubus of slavery wiped away; a country that, like a weary man who has lain down by the road side to rest, has risen again, and is marching on to its great destiny. What flag, but that which smiles on our peaceful assemblage today. Stand by it then, let it be the flag of the Union restored, reared aloft to float forever. Or, when it falls, if fall it must, let there be nothing around it but crumbling walls and nothing above it but the Angel that shall speak the end of time and the beginning of eternity."

BROUGH AND VALLANDIGHAM

Brough, as candidate, managed his own campaign, and delivered many speeches in his telling sledgehammer style. Vallandigham, his opponent, having been arrested and sent within the Confederate lines, was forced to rely on his friends to look after his interests. The campaign was fierce; men, women and children, attending the public meetings and indulging in heated discussions, and many times in personal combat. All felt relieved when the campaign closed. An interesting incident is related concerning Vallandigham while being conducted through the Confederate lines. The escort had been traveling almost day

and night, and after having spent the greater part of the previous night on the march, worn and weary, the party stopped for a few hours sleep. Vallandigham was called at day break and told that day was appearing and that they must resume their journey, at which he raised himself on his elbow and said in a dramatic manner:

> "Night's candles are burnt out and jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on misty mountain tops."

Here he hesitated; the next line describes the wrathful feelings of the soldiers for him and comes consecutively in the poem:

> "I must be gone and live or stay and die."

Brough was elected governor by the greatest majority ever given a candidate at that time, and during his official career exhibited many of the highest qualities of statesmanship.

LUTHERANISM IN PERRY COUNTY, OHIO.

BY PROFESSOR C. L. MARTZOLFF,
Ohio University, Athens, Ohio

It was only a narrow trail. It followed the moccasined footprints of the Shawnee brave, as he had journeyed back and forth on his mission of war or the chase, from the Pennsylvania frontier to his home on the plains of the Scioto. It cut its blazed way through the virgin forest of Ohio from the Fort of the Quaker, Zane, at Wheeling to where it again crossed the river at Limestone, into Kentucky. This first public highway in Ohio had been projected by Ebenezer Zane, the commandant at Fort Henry, under the authority of the United States government in 1796.

Now that the Indian wars, which for several years had disturbed the first Ohioans, were happily over, due to the signal victory of Wayne on the Maumee in 1794, this pioneer thoroughfare, known in history as Zane's Trace, was soon destined to become the artery through which would pour the stream of emigration, as it spilled itself over the Alleghenies, to fructify the virgin Ohio land which lay ready for the axe, the plow, and the sickle. Along with this procession of home-seeking humanity as it pushed its way along the blazed path, there came to Perry County, Ohio, its first settler and its first Lutheran in the person of Christian Binckley.

It was in April, 1801, that this hardy pioneer came into what is now Reading township, Perry County, though at that time it was part of Richland township, Fairfield County. He was one of the many Marylanders to make his home in this section, having moved from Frankstown, near that center of Lutheranism, Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland.

Born in 1737, he was a middle-aged man at the time of

the American Revolution, and when he emigrated to Perry County, he was sixty-four years of age and a widower, his wife having died near Hagerstown a few years previously. With him he brought his family of six children, most of them grown and married. There were three sons and three daughters, who became the ancestors of a most numerous progeny in Perry and Allen Counties.

In addition to his family, we do not know what other possessions he brought with him to his new home in the forest. But we are sure of a few things, and if we should have looked among the parcels carefully adjusted to the pack-saddles, we would undoubtedly have found among other articles the *German Bible,* with which was found Luther's *House Postil,* a copy of Arndt's *True Christianity,* bearing the imprint of "Christopher Sauer, Germantown," that printer to the German colonists of America, and, the *Hagerstown Almanac.*

The German Lutheran settler regarded these things as among the essentials for pioneering, and he would no more have thought of leaving these behind than he would his wife, his gun, or his axe. The writer has seen in many a Perry County Lutheran home these relics, now held as heirlooms in the family As for the *Hagerstown Almanac,* it is still sold in country stores in northern Perry, and many a housewife would not think of planting her beans or making soft-soap without first consulting the Hagerstown oracle.

Of one other thing we may be confident: that the establishment of Lutheranism in Perry County did not await the coming of the preacher. It established itself on the very day that Christian Binckley took up his abode in the woods of Reading township.

Our first settler had not long to live without neighbors. When he landed in Perry County, a family from Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, had already started on its emigrant journey and but for an accident, it would have joined Mr. Binckley during the same year. The family referred to was no other than that of John Peter Overmeyer, born near Harrisburg, now Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, February 5, 1761. With his wife, Eve Henig, and their ten children, they

had started for Ohio. In June of 1801, while crossing the Ohio River at Wheeling on a ferry boat, the frail vessel capsized, drowning their wheel horses while the rear end of the wagon, with the bed and contents, floated down the river. The front horses and the family had fortunately been landed on a previous trip of the boat. The household goods were swept away and Peter himself narrowly escaped drowning. He was obliged to remain in Belmont County with a brother-in-law, Peter Whitmore, until the spring of 1802, when he, too, began his journey along the blazed trail of Zane, locating only a short distance from its route. Here he was joined by his brother-in-law and together they purchased the land which is yet, or until recently has been, in the ownership of the families. Both families were Lutherans. Especially could Mr. Overmeyer produce evidence of his Lutheran ancestry, for he had in his possession an heirloom in the form of a "passport" which his father, John George Overmeyer, had used in coming from Germany to the United States in 1751.

We can not refrain from reproducing it, as well as a short extract from the diary of the first American Overmeyer:

"Passport of John George Obermayer.—In Blankenloch, of the Magistracy of Durlach, lying within the bounds of the highly exalted dominion, the Nagraviate of Baden, was born, on October 27, 1727, and baptized on the day following, October 28, John George, legitimate son of his father, John George Obermayer, citizen and weaver, and of his mother, Anna.

"Witnesses of his baptism were John George Bane, citizen and weaver; Henry Bane, citizen of Buechig; also, Susanna, wife of Jacob Werners, citizen and weaver; also, Anna Mary, wife of John Storken, citizen of Hagsfeld. This has been copied from the 'Register of Baptisms' and the 'Church Record,' of this parish.

"In testimony of his honest service and praiseworthy conduct while in our midst, especially of his knowledge and confession of the Evangelical Religion (Lutheran), I cheerfully subscribe with my own hand, and stamp with official seal.

"JOHN CHRISTIAN EBERSOLD,
"Pastor of Blankenloch and Buechig.

OFFICIAL
SEAL

"Blankenloch, May 4th, 1751.

"Inasmuch as the above-mentioned John George Obermayer, native of Blankenloch, has resolved, by the Grace of God, to leave this province to go to the New Country, the Colony of Pennsylvania, and has most respectfully besought and petitioned us, as the representatives of this Court, for an honorable dismissal and certificate of good character, and we cannot justly refuse, but, on the other hand, we cheerfully testify, upon the ground of truth, that he has, in his service in our midst, conducted himself as a Christian, honest, trustworthy, and industrious. We, therefore, wish Mr. Obermayer not only all temporal, but, also, all eternal blessings. We, therefore, beseech all respective persons, whether of high or low estate, with this charge of duty, not only to permit him to pass free and unmolested wherever he may choose to go, but, also, without suspicion, kindly to receive and entertain said Obermayer, in whatsoever place or locality he may announce himself, for which we shall ever be the indebtors.

"In the name of this Court of Justice, we still remain the humble servants.

"JUDGE BIERICH,
"Attorney, Kimtzma.
"SCHOOL SUP'T FIEGLER,
"Clerk of the Court.

"Blankenloch, May 12th, 1751."

What follows is from the personal diary of John George Overmeyer, in his own handwriting:

"On May 9th, 1751, we went for the last time to church in Blankenloch. There we sang once more: 'There are none whom God has forsaken,' 'Bless the Lord, O, my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name,' and 'Lord Jesus Christ to us attend.' It was the fourth Sunday after Easter, 'Cantate,' when we heard the Gospel lesson for the day, John xvi: 5-15, which begins: 'But now I go my way to Him that sent me; and none of you ask me "Whither goest thou?"'

"On May 14, we left Blankenloch, for Rheinhausen. On the 19th, we sailed from Rheinhausen, toward Mannheim. On the 20th we went to Worms, where we sang, 'O, Holy Ghost, descend, we pray.' On the 4th of June, at two o'clock, we passed through the Bingerlock, and at seven o'clock we passed through the bay of St. Gwier, where we encountered great danger.

"Our voyage upon the Rhine, from Rheinhausen to Amsterdam, was of four weeks' duration. On the 20th of June we embarked from Rotterdam, and from thence to Old England. On the 22d, we sailed in upon the vast ocean."

Such was the father of the man who came to Perry County in 1802 and gave the name *Reading* to the township in which

he was to live and to make it a center of Lutheranism for years to follow.

The Peter Whitmore was of Swiss descent and had been a soldier of the Revolutionary War.

These three families, Binckley, Overmeyer and Whitmore, formed the nucleus about which Perry County Lutheranism was to collect. The families were large and in themselves would make a respectable sized congregation. Nor would they wait long until steps were taken to provide themselves with the preaching of the Word. But even a short period would seem long to these zealous folk who were without their customary church services. Tradition tells us that the neighbors would gather together on Sundays when the lessons for the day were read, together with the appropriate prayers and songs. Nor would we be trespassing on the truth if we made the statement that these pious laymen would take turns in reading from a book of sermons which undoubtedly some of them possessed.

The Spring 1803, the year Ohio became a state, brought to our Perry Countians their first Lutheran pastor in the person of Rev. Eierman, (or Euerman), who came from Pennsylvania and spent several weeks visiting the Lutheran families which were now rapidly increasing. His coming was certainly long to be remembered. This forest preacher, riding down the Zane trail, alone, with his books in his saddle-bags, inquired at the occasional houses if they knew of any German settlers! Sometimes he overtook the slow-moving emigrant van as it painfully made its way across the steep hills of eastern Ohio or struggled with the flood in crossing the stream. Often he found brethren of his own faith and so he halted with them, shared their frugal meals or partook of their hospitality at their night encampment. Here in these "first temples" beneath the mighty trees, with the wild beasts glaring upon them from their coverts with glassy eyes, this Man of God, standing by the camp-fire, raised his hands toward heaven and invoked the blessings of the Most High upon that people as it took up its new life in this western land.

And in the hush that falls after the benediction, there would come into the souls of that little company, that peace which

"passeth all understanding," but which no one knows except he who has been in close communion with the Father of all.

We know not at whose pioneer hut this preacher was first entertained, but we can well believe that it must have been in the humble abode of Father Overmeyer, for his house was quite near the "trail." We hope we are not deviating too much from the historian's field if we indulge our imaginations to the extent of visioning that first visit. How the good home frau busied herself by putting on a clean cap and kerchief; how the children were given an extra scrubbing even if it was in the middle of the week and incidentally reminded of their manners by telling them that children were to be seen and not heard; how the larder was drawn upon for little extras in honor of the parson; how the master put on the same suit which he had worn to church on Sundays in Northumberland County; and how the older children were sent along the winding wood-paths to the neighbors, some living four or five miles away, to inform them that a minister of their own Faith had come and to invite them to the Overmeyer home for the evening.

We know well how the hours were spent; there was singing and prayer and reading from the Word, and much of the conversation related to the desire of the people that the reverend visitor remain for a short period in their midst, baptizing the new-born babes and preaching for them as often as possible. The following Sunday would be the appointed day.

In the meantime, they would carry the news over on Jonathan's Creek and to the shores of the Great Swamp and down the hills of Rush Creek, that a goodly congregation might be on hand. Then they sang another song and together repeated "Vater Unser," bade each other "Gute Nacht" and the men taking the long cat-tails, gathered in the lowlands and soaked in bear's grease, for torches, took the various paths homeward.

The intervening days must have dragged themselves along very slowly. But at last Sunday came, and with it along the forest lanes came the Binckleys, Poormans, Pughs, Parkinsons, Whitmores, Anspachs, Shriders, Bowmans, Humbergers, Neals, Zartmans, Emricks, Fishers, Ridenours, Swinehearts, Cooperriders, Mechlings, Rousculps, and all the rest of them.

It was the first assemblage ever held in Perry County. Whole families came. The men walking with the older children while the women with the younger ones rode horse-back. Sometimes if the family were small and the horse large, father, mother and several children would all mount old Dobbin at once. Some of the men carried guns and others clubs, for there were wild beasts a-plenty and they were not too sure about wandering bands of Indians who might attack them from ambush.

Some of these people had never met before, and we can imagine the young folk making some interesting acquaintances as they journeyed through the wood. For Cupid takes the right of way, even in a religious service; and on that day, one hundred and sixteen years ago, there began that process which resulted in the marrying, cross-marrying, and inter-marrying which has never ceased from then, and not even now, until everybody's family-tree in Reading, Hopewell or Thorn townships looks like everybody's else, until consanguinity has become so inextricably complicated that a person does not know whether he is himself or just a relation to himself.

Traditions do not agree as to where this first Lutheran service in Ohio was held. Some claim that it was in the barn of Peter Overmeyer and others that it was in the woods, which later became the Overmeyer orchard. The latter is the probable site. Neither does authentic history nor tradition relate to us the events of that day. We do not know what the lesson for the Sunday was, the text for the sermon, nor the hymns they sang. The nearest we can come to it is to quote the words of a descendant of Peter Overmeyer:

"When the people would be gathered together before divine service they would hold sweet, fraternal converse, then cry, patting each other and kissing; they would seat themselves, and silence supreme would rule; how they all took heartfelt, soul-stirring part in the service. Singing, praying, hearing the sermon was soulfully enjoyed. Many of the hearers could give the abridged contents of the entire service. Like the first congregation, they were close listeners. Food for their souls, they longed for and the assimilation of this food, spiritual, developed itself in their daily walk.

"After the benediction, the farewell greetings were exchanged by kissing, hugging and crying, 'God be with you and preserve you,' they then separated until such time as the next sermon might be given them. Pride, arrogance, self-conceit was not cherished. Brotherly love held sway. The magnetic needle is no truer to the pole than were those early Lutherans in Perry County."

Rev. Eierman remained several weeks among this people preaching to them and baptizing their children and then went his way, perhaps to other settlements, as the advance courier of Lutheranism in the Ohio Valley.

About the same time a Rev. Schromm made his appearance in the settlements, remained a short while and, like his contemporary, disappeared into the forest world.

Just what authority these itinerant preachers had in distributing spiritual comforts, the chronicler does not inform us. In all probability they acted on their own initiative; but the history of Lutheranism in Perry County remains incomplete without a generous reference to them and their efforts. The value attached to such labors is not so much as to what *they* did, but it shows the deep longing of the pioneers for the Bread of Life.

Our next step in Perry County Lutheranism was made when the Rev. Johannes Stauch, that persevering traveling preacher who ever kept in the van of the western moving immigrant, reached Perry County some time during the year 1804. His mission seems to have been, in addition to supplying the wants of the people, to spy out the land and ascertain what the prospects were. His report must have been gratifying, for at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1805 it was deemed wise to select a permanent traveling minister for the district called New Pennsylvania (now Ohio). That body thereupon selected the Rev. William Foster as the proper person to take up the work. He had already earned his title to a preacher of merit in the Shenandoah Valley, where for more than half a dozen years he had served various congregations.

At once this missionary made a visit to his new field to view the prospects. It was on this journey that he organized the New Reading congregation which became the mother church of

Perry County Lutheranism. The year following, at a meeting of the Ministerium, he reported the result of his visit and prepared to return to Ohio to become its first resident pastor, where he was destined to labor until his death in 1815.

The three Perry County congregations credited to Rev. Foster are New Reading (1805); Zion, near Thornville, (1806); and Somerset (1812).

The New Reading congregation did not erect a building at once. In all probability the Zion people, since their first structure was built in 1808, had that distinction. It was a two-story log building 34x36 feet. I quote from Pastor Beck's monograph of Zion's Church, published in 1911:

"This building had two entrances, one on the southeast side for the women and the other on the northeast side for the men. The pulpit was to the northwest. From the ladies' entrance there was an aisle leading direct to the altar. The younger women occupied the seats to the right and left of this aisle. At the sides of the pulpit the seats stood lengthwise. The older women occupied those to the right. The church officers occupied the first seats on the left, and those in the rear of them were occupied by the older men. At the men's entrance, immediately to the left, was the stairway to the gallery. This gallery was on three sides of the building. It was occupied by the younger men and the choir. The stove stood nearly in the center, or at the end of the aisle of the ladies' entrance.

"At first it had no floor nor pews. The worshippers sat on the sleepers, with their feet on the ground, while a carpenter's work-bench served as the pulpit."

The New Reading church was also a two-story hewed-log building and must have been very substantially constructed, since it served the people for many years, in fact until the present brick edifice was erected.

Our interest naturally centers about the congregation and church at Somerset. Though only a few miles distant from New Reading, that society was but little more than a half-dozen years old when it was found necessary to provide services in the new hamlet that was destined to be Perry County's first capital, the scene of the early development of organized Ohio Lutheranism and the home of one of America's great generals — Phil. H. Sheridan.

Before the organization of the congregation, 1812, preaching services had frequently been held in private homes and in the first school house — a log building — of which Somerset boasted. The church structure, thirty feet square, constructed of hewn logs, later weather-boarded, had a gallery on three sides. The choir occupied one of these galleries; there was a good organ, made by Henry Humberger, one of the members, and for a number of years the congregation was noted for its excellent singing.

This old log edifice was used until 1844, when it was vacated; but for twenty years longer it stood, growing more dilapidated with the passing days, a home for owls and bats, standing alone in the midst of the God's acre, where the pioneers lay in the encampment of the dead, a monument to the unquenchable spirits of brave men and women, who in the strenuous struggle of forest life had not forgotten to erect sanctuaries and dedicate them to the honor and glory of their Creator.

Men in their admiration for the Father of all have erected massive piles of stone; they have surmounted them with the huge dome, with Gothic spire, or the minareted roof; they have reared high ceilings upon which the artist has brushed with matchless skill the strength of Hebrew Prophet, or the glorified beauty of the Madonna; while God's sunshine through paneled glass brings out the beauty of the lilies, and the tender look in the face of the Good Shepherd who carried the lambs in His bosom or called the little children to His knees.

But never did men rear massive wall or vaulted roof with greater consecration than did these horny handed sons of toil when they felled the forest oak, hewed its rough surface to smoothness, and put in proper place joist and rafter. No illustrious artist adorned the walls with his masterpieces, but in the souls of these pious folk they visioned and re-lived the scenes enacted by men who had once walked close to God; within the rude walls of this temple, they, like the Hebrew of old who felt the divine Presence in the fragrance of burning incense, knew, too, God was there the same as did the worshippers when Aaron lighted the lamps on the altar. And we believe their prayers were as acceptable at the throne of the Most High as

though they had been carried on the odor of sweet incense from swinging censer in the hands of cowled priest.

The old church that mothered Ohio Lutheranism can now hardly be called even a memory. Few who walk the streets of Somerset recall the ancient building. Its site is marked only by the presence of its corner stone which resists the ravages of rains, frosts and snows, emblematic of the Church Universal and its chief cornerstone, the Christ.

To the Somerset congregation in 1815 came the Rev. Andrew Henkel, of the famous Henkel family of Lutheran preachers. The father and five sons should be as highly regarded in our denominational history as are "The Fighting McCooks" in Ohio's military annals.

From the Shenandoah Valley this remarkable family carried the seeds of Lutheranism throughout the valley of the Ohio and the mountains of Tennessee. From their publishing house at New Market were issued countless pages of sound religious literature. Preachers and writers and missionaries were they, until the Henkel name became a household word among Lutherans throughout the Central West.

It was the good fortune of the writer to be permitted to edit the translated copy of the Journal of Paul Henkel recording his experiences on that famous journey from his Virginia home across the Alleghenies to the valley of the Miami in 1806.

Would that the Father of Perry County Lutheranism, the Rev. Foster, had kept a record of his labors, in his great field in the Muskingum, the Scioto and the Hocking valleys. But these men of God were more concerned in gathering together the children of the church than in recording the events of their labors.

It was during the ministration of Rev. Henkel, in the Somerset parish that, what had been a special conference in the Ohio Country, a branch of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, resolved itself into an Independent Synodical body, now known as the Joint Synod of Ohio.

The events of those four September days in 1818 have been specifically set down in the recent "History of the Joint Synod of Ohio" and they need no further comment from this pen.

But we can not get away from the consecrated fervor of these Lutheran pastors and their lay delegates, who had traveled through the hot September woods for many miles, submitting to discomforts, yet keen and enthusiastic, sustained by that "unfaltering trust," from which martyrs have been made, firm in the belief that they were about their Father's business.

Heading the list was the Rev. Stauch from New Lisbon, Columbiana County. In spite of his long service spent as traveling pastor, he was only fifty-six years of age and he had before him many days in which to work before he passed away, a veritable saint, in his Crawford County home. But what a trivial journey by horseback was 125 miles to him who had lived in the saddle, and who by the end of his labors would multiply that distance 800 times.

He and his companion no doubt followed the old Moravian trail along which David Zeisberger had once led his Brown Brethren. On the shore of the Tuscarawas, where the "Tents of Grace," Gnadenhuetten, had once stood, they could have seen the mound above the massacred Christian red-men.

At the forks of the Muskingum they passed the site where the first Protestant Christmas service in Ohio had been celebrated. When they reached the falls of that stream, they struck the Zane Trace, now developed into a respectable highway, and they knew they were on the direct route to Somerset.

The celebrated Paul Henkel, the Shenandoah traveler, had made his way across the hills of southeastern Ohio from Point Pleasant, Va., where a dozen years before he had found a few Lutheran families. From Germantown, Montgomery County, rode the finely educated Caspar Dill, graduated from the Lutheran University of Giessen, Hessen Darmstadt, but whose splendid work was soon to end because of its arduous duties. Weygandt, a protege of Stauch, thought it not too far to journey from Washington County, Pennsylvania, to meet with his brethren; not the finished scholar that Dill was, yet a preacher of power, who knew western people and perhaps could reach them better than one more highly cultivated.

Jacob Leist had not so far to come. He lived on the Zane Trace where Tarlton now is. He had been contemporary with

Rev. Foster, but for fifty-nine years after the latter had lain in his grave in the Foster cemetery near Thornville, Father Leist was to live on, carrying with him an honored name. He was the last of the Joint Synod founders to go to his reward.

From Jefferson County came John Reinhard, also a protege of Stauch's, who Rev. Sheatsley says first sent the Macedonian cry to the Ministerium to come over and help us in Ohio.

Faraway Trumbull County sent Huet. He found time to get away from his extensive parish of fourteen congregations to join with the brethren. Then there was the *pastor loci,* Andrew Henkel, a young man yet under thirty who six years later would become the successor of Dill at Germantown. Here he was to lead a career of forty-four years, an unusual preacher of power, militant in his attitude, engaging in business, called to public position, a writer of books and pamphlets and a composer of poetry of no mean merit, and a splendid engraver, having learned the art in his father's print shop at New Market.

John Michael Steck, "a faithful and useful laborer in the vineyard", rode over from Lancaster, while Rev. Schneider journeyed from New Philadelphia. Nor should we omit the young brother of the two Henkels, Carolus, who had come with his brother Paul from Point Pleasant. At this organization meeting, he received his license as a catechist. Nine years later he was to become the successor of his oldest brother in the historic church at Somerset, where in the labors of a circuit rider he wore out his young life in his parish of nine congregations.

Somehow the name of Charles Henkel holds a sacred niche in the hearts of Perry County Lutherans. Whether because of his untiring labors while battling with disease, his power as a preacher, his genial personality, or his untimely death, or all of these elements, we know not.

Perhaps in our own early life we knew and came into contact with people who yet remembered Charles Henkel. We might designate him as the last of the forest itinerants, whose field of labor was so extensive, thus coming into contact with vast numbers. For Rev. Henkel did not confine himself to his nine congregations. He served the scattered Lutheran families in southern Perry and northern Hocking Counties, preaching in

barns and houses, baptizing the new born, instructing the youth, comforting the sick, and burying the dead.

To attest this, there hangs on my mother's bed-room wall a baptismal certificate with the date 1838 and bearing the name of Charles Henkel. My mother's family did not live within the bounds of his parish.

There is an appropriateness in that he should lie near to the church in which he was first called to proclaim the Gospel and where he had served so faithfully. The most conspicuous monument in the old cemetery stands above the graves of this loved pastor and his young wife, who preceded him in death by nine years. On the front of the monument made of free stone, is this inscription:

In Memory
of
Rev. Charles Henkel
Pastor of the Ev. Luth. Church,
and his consort
Maria A. Henkel
Erected
by the Ev. Lutheran Congregation in
and about Somerset, Ohio.

Here sleeps the faithful pastor in the midst of his flock, faithful in death as he was in life — still their pastor.

When the Synod was organized in 1818, there had been established in Perry County four congregations: New Reading, Zion, Somerset, and Lebanon, Junction City. The Lebanon congregation had been organized the year previous by Rev. Andrew Henkel. It was a union church with the Reformed Communion, but dissolved that relation in 1840. Two years later the present structure was erected thus making it the oldest Lutheran church in the county. St. Paul's and Good Hope in Hopewell township were added to the list in 1818, by Andrew Henkel. Thornville came along in 1837, under the ministrations

of Charles Henkel. St. John's, Mondaycreek, was organized by Rev. Frankenberg 1841; St. Paul's Mondaycreek, in the late fifties by Jacob Weimer, a son of St. Paul's, Glenford, who had the distinction of being the first student to enter the Columbus Seminary from Perry County; Trinity, New Lexington, 1867, by Rev. George Yung; St. Mark's, Saltlick township, faithfully served for years by Rev. W. A. Weisman; Shawnee, by Rev. Dietrich. Then there is the Drum church in Reading township. There have been fourteen well established congregations in Perry County, beside several sporadic attempts in the mining towns of Corning, Buckingham and New Straitsville. St. Paul's, Mondaycreek, St. Mark's and Shawnee are among those which have been abandoned.

Three of the Perry County churches were jointly constructed by the Lutherans and the Reformed. They are Zion's, in Thorn township; St. Paul's, Glenford; and Lebanon, Junction City. The cemeteries were also of joint ownership. The constitution usually provided for the joint election of the church officers, and in the case of Zion church, according to Rev. Beck, if both pastors appeared at one and the same time to conduct services, and failed to agree which one was to preach, then one of the church officers was to cast lots. Our authority fails to state if this game of hazard was ever resorted to.

From what we are able to learn, these two peoples got along together reasonably well. The fact that the arrangement in two of the churches continued until the present century is evidence to our conclusion. While there were two pastors, it would take a sharp eye to detect any other visible signs of differences. They all went to the same church, buried their dead in the same graveyard, with Dan Cupid getting in his work and mixing them all up until you could not tell "neither from t'other." The husband frequently would belong to the one communion and the wife to the other; sometimes the children would go with the father and sometimes with the mother; but they all went to church together. When I attended services at St. Paul's, Glenford, I used to wonder in my own mind whether it was "Reformed Sunday" or "our Sunday."

The only difference I could see was that on one Sunday

certain people sat on the front seats, while the next Sunday, these same folks "Went away back and sat down." Before I knew which was which, I would have to await the coming of the preacher to find out if I were going to hear a Lutheran or a Reformed sermon. Then when "Jerry" Lautenschlager would loom up in the doorway, I knew it was not going to be Reformed.

The situation at St. Paul's always reminded me of the story of the old German who went to market each week with a jar of applebutter and one of cottage cheese, classically known as "schmier kase." But he possessed only one spoon, a wooden one. So he used it in both jars promiscuously, and after he had served a half dozen customers it made little difference which you asked for, since you could not tell which one you were getting in spite of the label on the jar.

This close union of the two churches would lead one to naturally think that in the course of time there would develop a gradual amalgamation, but in spite of the relationship that existed between the communions, the doctrinal differences could not be bridged, and at the end each side adhered as tenaciously to its belief as did their respective champions nearly four centuries ago at the Marburg colloquy.

In point of time, perhaps the St. John's congregation in Mondaycreek township might be omitted in the consideration of early Lutheranism in Perry County. For more than a third of a century had gone since Peter Overmeyer first came to the woods of Reading township before St. John's was organized. But there is one feature about its beginnings distinct from all others in this region, and for that reason it deserves especial mention. Besides, it is the home congregation of your speaker and therefore he may be pardoned if he attributes more importance to its history than would an unbiased *outsider*.

The pioneer congregations of central and northern Perry had for their membership the Pennsylvania brand of American Germans. (Note that I do not use the hyphen.) This Palatinate German who came to the land of Penn to escape the persecutions at home, attracted by the rich soils of Maryland and the beautiful Shenandoah, soon pushed his way into the Piedmont belts of Virginia and the Carolinas. The opening of the

new century found the lure of the upper Muskingum, the upper Hocking, the upper Scioto, and the Miamis calling him to enter and possess this land. It was a part of this movement that brought the influx into northern Perry.

But the St. John's neighborhood was settled by people directly from across the water. From France, politically; from Germany, ethnically. In a word they were Alsatians. People from that ill-fated region of the upper Rhine that have been the shuttle-cock between Teuton and Frank for centuries. They were all admirers of the Great Napoleon. The best soldiers he had came from Alsace. His famous old guard, headed by Marshal Ney, the noblest of them all, were Alsatians. They had enjoyed with him the victories of Jena and Austerlitz; they had been humiliated in the defeat of Leipzig and had stood valiantly by him at Waterloo.

The reactionary forces gaining control of France as well as the rest of Europe caused the Alsatians to begin an exodus to America. Thousands came to the state of Ohio between 1825 and 1840.

The St. John's Alsatians arrived after 1830. My grandparents came in 1834. The families constituting this settlement were the Wolfes, the Martzolffs, Kochenspargers, Naders, Buchmans, Wohllebes, now Anglicised into Goodlive, and others.

These, however, were not the first Lutherans in the township. The story is extant that the first settler, a Mr. Terrell, a Virginian, discovering his hogs had gone astray, trailed them through the wild-pea vines, until he reached an open clearing containing a settler's cabin. This was his first knowledge of having a neighbor, though they had lived for several months only about two miles distant from one another. The newcomer was one Charles Manning and family which had come from Dover, Delaware. The family was of English origin and belonged to the Anglican church. Feeling the need of a church home, fellowship was sought with the congregation at Somerset under Andrew Henkel, who afterward frequently visited the home of Manning and preached there for the neighbors.

This Charles Manning was the father of the Rev. James Manning, who for sixty-three years was a faithful pastor of

the Ohio Synod, and was the first Perry County boy to enter the Lutheran ministry, having been ordained in 1825.

Until the coming of the Alsatians, the Lutherans in Mondaycreek were few and far between. Most of the settlers were Virginians and hence were Baptists or Methodists. A Lutheran church had been organized just across the line in Hocking County. Some of the people attended here. The rest were divided between Lebanon and Somerset, the latter being fifteen miles away.

In a word, the Alsatian settlement which in later years became known by the less euphonious title of Dutch Ridge, might be said never to have been without religious services.

The pastors of the nearby charges frequently visited the neighborhood, preaching in the barns and houses. There was Rev. Bartholomew from Muskingum County who baptized my father; Charles Henkel from Somerset, and at times young James Manning returned to his boyhood home and taught the people. In passing, it might be interesting to say that of this Alsatian company, but one remains that was baptized in the old land. She is my father's sister, Mrs. Magdalene Cotterman, of Logan, Ohio, now in her ninety-second year. She belonged to the first confirmation class in the newly established St. John's.

It was in 1841, under the ministration of Rev. Frankenburg, that St. John's was organized. In its three quarters of a century's history it has been a strong congregation. It reached its zenith, however, so far as members are concerned, during the pastorates of Revs. W. A. Weisman and W. E. Harsh, who served it for thirty-one fruitful years. This period marks the era when the second generation was in the full flush of manhood and before the third generation had grown up and scattered.

As an earnest of the sincerity of these people, perhaps no congregation in more recent years gathered its people from a wider range of territory than St. John's. In my own time I recall some members driving six and seven miles to services in the, now, antiquated express wagon drawn by the horses which had pulled the plow during the week. The future of St. John's is not bright. The fathers have passed on and the sons

have scattered, and the big Sunday crowds that used to assemble beneath the oaks are known no longer. Yet I am sure that scores of her sons and daughters who may have traveled far from these early scenes have not wandered a great way from the spiritual paths laid off for them in the pulpit of old St. John's, and they, like myself, love to revisit these scenes in fact or in memory, for

> "The hills are dearest,
> Where our childhood's feet
> Have climbed the earliest;
> And the streams most sweet
> Ever are those at which
> Our young lips drank,
> Stooped to the waters o'er the mossy brink."

Perry County Lutheranism has of course its anecdotal side, which in itself would perhaps make another paper of equal length to this one. Only one happening in Hopewell need be mentioned. It is related how one Sunday, when Rev. Andrew Henkel was in the act of pronouncing the benediction to his congregation which had assembled at the home of Lewis Cooperrider for worship, he was interrupted by Jacob Strawn, afterwards renowned as the Illinois cattle king, that he had trapped a large wolf and perhaps the congregation would enjoy seeing it. The pastor gladly made the announcement, but tradition does not inform us if the reverend gentleman went with his congregation to see his wolfship dispatched by the dogs of the neighborhood. The dog belonging to Jacob Mechling won the red ribbon as a wolf catcher, and no doubt enjoyed the distinction quite as well as his master took pride in his prowess; in comparison, all the other neighborhood dogs were only mongrel "curs of low degree."

It is impossible within the compass of a paper, even one as lengthy as this has proven to be, to set down all the interesting things, historical and traditional, which belong to Perry County Lutheranism. My notebooks tell me that I have only touched on the subject. My purpose has been to stress the loyalty to their church, the deep, sincere desire to have the means of grace within their midst, the sacrifices and consecrations which

these God-fearing men and women underwent to satisfy their needs; and, to emphasize the unfaltering labors, the faithfulness, the unselfishness of that hardy band of pioneer forest preachers, who gave of themselves without stint to the upbuilding of Christ's Kingdom. Of such stuff are heroes made.

It was the Boston Dr. Holmes, philosopher and humorist, who facetiously remarked, "That no doubt God could have made a better fruit than the peach, but it was quite evident, in his opinion, that He never had."

By analogy, I would say that God never made better folks than the Perry County Lutherans. They or their ancestors had fled from the land of Luther, where religious freedom had first lit its torch, but where mediæval tradition had later all but extinguished it; they knew what repression and oppression were. They came to America and they knew what freedom was.

Here in the woods of Perry County, they built their humble cottages; they cut down the forests; they drove the wild beasts from their lairs; they built their churches and schoolhouses. In the century and more during which they have lived here, they have transformed the wild land into as fruitful a region as the sun shines upon. And whether they lived in the rude pioneer hut or in the more pretentious dwellings later erected, or in the commodious homes which now frequently grace the home acres, there has ever dwelt a whole-souled, generous-hearted, open-handed yeomanry. If I were to characterize Perry County Lutherans, in addition to their faithfulness to their church, I would have to say it is *hospitality*. The latch-string hung without the door in that elder day; figuratively speaking it is still hanging there and very low. In that time they shared as generously with the wayfarer their bear's meat and hominy as they do today their strawberry shortcake, their honey or smoked ham. If I were hungry and had no money, I would go to northern Perry County, for I know I would get more square meals, for nothing, there than anywhere else on this mundane sphere. As the poet expresses it, surely they have builded their "houses by the side of the road" where they can be "a friend to man."

This land of ours never had and does not have now more

loyal, patriotic citizens than these same folk. In the Civil War the boys marched away to defend the Union, and in the recent struggle, which made it hard for many of German descent, Perry County Lutheranism stood four-square and so far as I have been able to learn, not a shadow of suspicion ever attached to one of them.

It was unfortunate that when our Quadri-Lutheran Centenary came and when the one hundreth mile post of Ohio Lutheranism had been reached, our land should have been in an awful strife, especially with that people among whom Lutheranism had its origin. Those events were worthy of more extended and elaborate celebration.

In my opinion there would be nothing finer than to make a pilgrimage back to old Somerset; there Ohio Lutheranism, with pageant, with speech and music, could re-inspire itself amid the scenes where the Fathers wrought. That soil holds a sacredness beyond that of any other region in our fair state; there we could take new courage and renew our fealty to those principles, which to us have become such a glorious heritage.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SOCIETY BUILDING,

COLUMBUS, OHIO, August 26, 1919.

The meeting was called to order by Vice President George F. Bareis. There were present:

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT,
E. F. WOOD,
E. O. RANDALL,
D. H. GARD,
W. C. MOORE,
J. M. DUNHAM,
W. L. CURRY,
W. O. THOMPSON,
T. D. HILLS,
J. S. ROOF,
C. W. JUSTICE,
FRED HINKLE,
L. P. SCHAUS,
GEORGE F. BAREIS,
H. E. BUCK,
W. H. COLE,
B. F. PRINCE,
WILLIAM WALKER,
W. C. SHETRONE,
VAN A. SNIDER,
FRANK TALLMADGE,
R. G. KINKEAD,
W. C. MILLS,
J. M. HENDERSON,
W. H. SCOTT.

In addition to the members of the Society, W. Farrard Felch, Clerk to the Historical Commission of Ohio, was present.

Secretary Randall stated that, on account of pressing duties as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the coming National Reunion of the Grand Army of the Republic, President Campbell was unable to be present.

G. Frederick Wright, President Emeritus, congratulated the Society on the progress of the last year, and stated that Col. Webb C. Hayes has been absent from his home for some little time, and therefore received no notice of the date of this meeting.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Secretary Randall stated that, in accordance with precedent, he would not read the full minutes of the last Annual Meeting, which comprises one hundred and twenty pages of typewritten manuscript in the Secretary's Minute Book. A condensed report of the proceedings of that meeting appears in the Quarterly for October, 1918. All members of the Society have that Quarterly. In accordance with the long-established precedent it was suggested that the minutes of that meeting be approved.

Since the last Annual Meeting we have had very few meetings of the Trustees and Committees, for the reasons that, first, our appropriations were not sufficient to pay the expenses of the members in coming to Columbus, and second there was no actual need to hold meetings, since our appropriations are limited to specific purposes, and the heads of the various Departments could carry along the work.

The Publication Committee held one or two meetings, to act on routine matters. I will report for the Publication Committee. Our Quarterlies have been issued on time; we received from the legislature an appropriation of thirteen thousand dollars — we asked for sixteen thousand — for reprinting our Annuals; Mr. Fred Heer is now making arrangements to reprint those books.

The last year has been, in some respects, an excellent one for the Society. In spite of the war and the wave of economy on the part of the State we were very fairly dealt with in the matter of appropriations two years ago, and we have progressed along the lines of our work. In both the archæological and historical departments we have had what I might call an accelerated movement, and I am certain the Society stands higher in both departments than it did a year ago.

As to Logan Elm, I visited the park some three or four times during the last six months. The last visit was a week ago Saturday, when I took a party of five or six from here to the park. We took our lunch along and ate under the tree. We counted twenty-five automobiles that came in while we were there, and I think only about one in ten stopped at the cabin to register. The grounds and tree are in splendid condition. In the near future the proposed monument to Logan, donated by residents in the vicinity of the Park, will be dedicated.

Governor Campbell is chairman of the committee on Harrison Memorial. That committee was appointed some four years ago, just about the time of the breaking out of the war, at the request of the Business Men's Club of Cincinnati; Governor

Campbell, Mr. D. J. Ryan and myself met a committee of the Business Men's Club. They desired the cooperation of our Society in the building of a proper monument at the grave of William Henry Harrison. The mausoleum was in very bad condition. I had two meetings with Senator Pomerene in regard to this project, and he agreed to introduce a bill in Congress, appropriating $75,000 for the monument if our Society itself, or through the legislature, would donate $25,000 more, make a total of $100,000 for the monument.

In the meantime local parties at North Bend and Cincinnati — I think the Daughters of the Revolution and others — have taken the project in hand and I am informed the monument will be erected by them without expense to the government, the state or our Society. This will eliminate us from participation or credit.

Fort Miami, Fort Meigs and Fallen Timbers — Mr. W. J. Sherman is chairman of that committee, and cannot be here. I was in Toledo about four months ago, at the formation of a Northwest Ohio Historical Society which is to include the society known as the Maumee Valley Historical Society, or at least cooperate with it. I found the sentiment there is that the new society should care for those sites. I assume so far as this Society is concerned there will be nothing further to do.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SITES.

The unsettled condition of the times has seemed to render it unwise to take active efforts to secure, for the Society, the possession of the historical sites which it is desirable for us to obtain. Your committee, therefore, has simply pursued the policy of "watchful waiting," and have little to report, except to say that the picturesque old Fort Miami, on the Maumee River, between Fort Meigs and Toledo, and the Serpent Mound in Warren County, are of so much importance and interest that we should not relax our efforts to preserve them for the general public. But we do not have any proposition to make concerning them at the present time. It is desirable, however, to keep their acquisition in view, so as to be able to act when circumstances favor. We would therefore recommend the continuance of the Committee to have this general subject in mind.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

G. Frederick Wright, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CAMPUS MARTIUS.

At the request of Mr. Randall, I went to Marietta on the 26th of June to look over the property placed in our hands by the State, known as Campus Martius.

I beg to report the condition of this property as follows: —

The corner lot, being 160 feet long by 80 feet wide, deeded by Miss Nye to the State of Ohio, is the lot upon which is situated a house, 46 feet long by 36 feet wide, two stories high. This is an old frame house, in very poor repair. The lot upon which this house stands is about 9 feet above the street across the front, and running back about 100 feet. The remaining part slopes irregularly, in some parts, to the street.

Across the 80 foot front there is a bracing of lumber about five feet high to hold the embankment up. On the side front there is a nice grassy slope to the sidewalk.

The lot lying immediately in the rear of this lot above described, and deeded by Mrs. Davis to the State of Ohio, and covering the same number of feet, viz.: 160 feet long by 80 feet wide, has been used for a number of years as a sand or gravel bank, and upon it at the present time there is stored a lot of old lumber. The surface of this lot is irregular, some parts of it having been excavated as low as the street level. The whole property presents a very unsightly appearance.

The house is, according to my understanding, of very little historical value, and an eyesore to the neighborhood. It would be a vast improvement to have the house removed and the two lots graded to a level surface.

LEWIS P. SCHAUS.

Secretary Randall made a brief statement as to the securing of the property by the state, which was brought about by the Daughters of the American Revolution. He also called attention to the fact that the General Assembly has made no appropriation for the care or improvement of this property.

Secretary Randall read the following joint resolution:

"83D GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
REGULAR SESSION, 1919. } H. J. R. No. 25.

"MR. BURNS.

"JOINT RESOLUTION

"Relative to appointment of a committee of two persons to confer with a like committee from each of the states comprising the original 'northwest territory' looking to the building of a memorial to the memory of the early settlers of the said original 'northwest territory.'

"WHEREAS, The state of Ohio has recently acquired by purchase the lands situated in the city of Marietta, in said state, and known as the lands comprising 'Campus Martius'; and

"WHEREAS, In order to preserve and restore said lands and erect thereon a proper memorial building in which there may be properly housed the old relics and mementos indicative of the early history and settlements of the great northwest territory; therefore,

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio, That there be appointed a committee of two persons from said state by the governor thereof, said committee to act without pay, which committee shall meet a like committee from each of the states comprising the original 'northwest territory', for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing plan; that the governor of Ohio shall transmit a formal request to the legislatures and governors of the said states comprising said original 'northwest territory' to co-operate in the same manner as indicated by this joint resolution, and that he forward a copy of this resolution to them;

"Be it further resolved, That said joint committee shall file a report of their recommendations with the legislatures and governors of the several states comprising the original 'northwest territory', for further action by the legislatures of said states."

Mr. Randall stated that the resolution was adopted without opposition, and the governor appointed as the commissioners for Ohio former Congressman George White, and Hon. Warren E. Burns, the author of the resolution. The desire is, in substance, to follow the procedure adopted in the "Perry Victory" celebration. It is hoped to have each state carved out of the Northwest Territory appropriate from fifteen to twenty-five thousand dollars, and if this is done a joint commission from the five states will erect on the grounds a monument commemorative of the fact that it was the site of the first governmental organization in the Northwest Territory. This may eventually be accomplished.

Mr. Randall moved that Mr. Schaus be authorized to build the retaining wall, as he thinks necessary to protect the property, to be paid for from the fund of two thousand dollars given us by Miss Nye.

Mr. Wood: "I amend the motion, to provide that a special committee of three, to consist of Dr. W. O. Thompson, Mr. L. P. Schaus and Mr. E. O. Randall be appointed, and the committee be instructed to report their recommendations to the Trustees, at their convenience."

The amendment to the motion was accepted, duly seconded, and carried.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

During the past year the following changes have been made in the personnel of the Museum and Library: on July 1 Mr. C. E. Spindler resigned the Superintendency of the Building, and Mr. Starling L. Eaton, former Superintendent of the Building, has accepted the position and will assume his duties September 1; Mr. Elmer Hart resigned as janitor to accept the newly created position as binder for the Society; Mr. McMullen, second janitor, was appointed to the position of first janitor; Mr. J. H. Tuttle was appointed August 1 to the position of second janitor; Mr. W. F. Felch was appointed Secretary of the Ohio Historical Commission, which has its headquarters in the Museum Building of the Society, and which is practically under the supervision of the same, and assumed his duties July 1.

The collections in the Museum have been added to from various parts of the state, especially from the region of Flint Ridge. After completing the examination of the flint quarries there, we decided to examine the only mound located upon the Ridge, near the western end. Permission to examine this mound was secured. The report of the Flint Ridge examination is being prepared and will be published in the Quarterly at an early date.

During the year the visitors at the Museum have greatly increased, due perhaps to the Methodist Centenary, when more than 1,000 visitors a day passed through our halls.

During the second semester of the college year the Curator gave a course of lectures on Ohio Archaeology to a class of eleven; also gave many lectures to classes in the University, and to museum visitors from the public schools of Columbus.

The Curator was granted permission to attend the meet-

ing of the Association of Museums at Philadelphia as a delegate from the Society. This meeting was of great importance to Museum workers representing practically all the museums in the country. The sessions were held in the various museums of Philadelphia and continued for three days. At the close of the sessions in Philadelphia I went to Washington, D. C., to consult with Senator Harding concerning the collection of relics of the Great War returned to this country from Europe. We have the assurance of his cooperation in pending legislation concerning these relics and that the state will receive her quota.

The audience room was occupied until April 1 by the Red Cross.

Many new specimens and collections have been added to the Museum during the year. Among the most interesting, perhaps, is the donation of Mr. Charles M. Haynes of Chillicothe, which includes an original electrotype of the 20, 50 and 100 dollar bills of the Bank of Circleville, 1819; as far as I am able to ascertain these are the only plates of the kind in existence.

Another interesting collection is that of Eddie Rickenbacker, of Columbus, American Ace of Aces. This collection, presented through Mr. Walter A. Pfeifer, president of the Columbus Automobile Club, embraces a part of Rickenbacker's first fighting plane, with perforations made by German bullets; rapid-fire guns, navigation instruments and personal objects belonging to Hun planes and their aviators, captured by Rickenbacker.

Other donations were received from:

Mr. J. Rosenbloom, Columbus—a German sniper's carbine.

Major V. C. Ward, Jr. — French gas masks.

Lieutenant D. E. Stuber, Columbus — an excellent and extensive collection of arms, implements and mementos of the war zone.

Mr. C. I. Reed — collection of German and American gas masks.

Prof. F. C. Landsittel — old table, used at Campus Martius, made in 1789.

Mrs. Emma Brough Gerard, Cincinnati — personal relics of Governor Brough, including his I. O. O. F. regalia.

Charles M. Haynes, Chillicothe — an extensive collection of arms, historical and pioneer specimens.

Mrs. Lina V. Dietz, Columbus — relics of Captain John Desmond and of the Cincinnati riot.

Mrs. Sarah J. Coleman and Miss Marietta Comly, Columbus — collection of surgical and medical instruments, early and modern.

Mr. F. C. Kettering, Dayton — rare specimens of early firearms.

Mr. A. C. West, Bainbridge, a very large, fine type animal-effigy pipe, found on the Nathaniel Massie farm, Ross county.

Mr. George C. Parrett, superintendent of the Ross County infirmary, a very fine human face mask, carved from sandstone.

We also secured the J. W. Dowler collection, at Troy, Ohio; also relics from an Indian grave near Ottawa, consisting of many silver and other objects of the early trader period.

Dr. Edward Herbst, Columbus, archaeological and natural history specimens.

Mr. Walter B. Morris, Columbus, military badges.

Mrs. Ida E. Carner, Columbus — ethnological specimens from Venezuela.

Miss Julia A. Lapham, Wisconsin, early photographs of the Lapham family.

Mr. Almer Hegler added to his archaeological collection.

Mrs. R. J. Gardiner, California, western specimens.

Mr. Homer Zimmerman, Sugar Creek — pioneer specimens.

Mrs. Gwynne Huntington, Columbus, a doll of the Civil War period.

Miss Lulie Jones, California, western specimens.

Mr. Clyde Stewart, of Zanesville, samples of pioneer hair-weaving.

Mr. D. S. Gray, Deavertown, Ohio—rare stone specimen.

Mr. B. B. Thomas, Collins — photographs.

Mr. H. J. Thompson, Dayton — modern Indian relics.

Mr. C. A. Swoyer, Columbus — archaeological specimens.

Mr. Charles Metzger, Marysville — archaeological specimen.

Mr. Ellwood Clark, Wilmington — archæological specimens.

The Columbus Dental Society — skull of elephant.

Mrs. J. H. Sells, Columbus — human hair ornaments.

Prof. E. G. Mann, Columbus — archæological and historical specimens.

Lieutenant Governor J. H. Arnold — a fossil.

Mr. George Free, Ross County — rare stone specimen.

Mr. H. W. McCracken, Columbus — archæological specimens.

Dr. W. E. Gatewood, Columbus — stone relics.

Mrs. Romaine McKinley, Columbus—western specimens.

Miss Lucy Roof, Columbus — framed pictures.

Mr. E. F. Cassill, Columbus — archæological specimens.

Mr. Walling Corwin, Morrow — extremely artistic flint specimens.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FORT ANCIENT.

One year ago your committee on Fort Ancient reported the location of a new entrance and the erection of two stone posts. The next effort was the construction of a roadway which was carefully laid out by your committee and the work executed by the Custodian, Mr. Warren Cowan. The cost, including sewer pipe, material and labor, was $240.65. The work was completed by February 3, 1919.

From the time the two posts were erected at the entrance it was the desire of your committee to add wings to the same. This was done in June last, at a cost of $282.00. The work was done by Mr. James A. Donley, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, and is in fine harmony with the posts previously erected by him.

But little has been done in the line of repairs for the buildings or fencing. These needs must soon demand the serious attention of the Society.

The general appearance of the grounds remains about as usual. If the means at our command were greater, plans of improvement could easily be inaugurated.

B. F. Prince,
John M. Dunham,
Waldo C. Moore,
Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SERPENT MOUND PARK.

The general conditions at the Park during the past year have been satisfactory.

Denver, the younger son of Mrs. Wallace, under the direction of his mother, has rendered efficient service as the substitute of the regular custodian, Mr. Guy Wallace who was called to the colors and was in service overseas, who returned to the Park May 14th, and resumed his duties as custodian.

During the year, needed repairs to the Custodian's house were made.

The shelter-house, we are glad to be able to report, is now finished, and Professor Mills has installed a museum therein.

This museum has proved of great interest and benefit to the numerous visitors at the Park.

Your committee, after careful consideration, decided to uncover the spring, letting in the sunlight and in other respects making it more sanitary.

During the year we have had the Custodian plant a number of trees in the Park, from the adjacent forests.

We have already begun to enclose the effigy with a hedge, which we expect to extend as soon as funds are available until the effigy is entirely and securely enclosed and an appropriate entrance made to it.

During the year the Custodian reports 6,120 visitors registered and gives it as his best judgment that not more than half of those visiting the Park register.

The Custodian reports that on the 6th of July, the Knights of Pythias to the number of 1,500 held a memorial service at the Park.

It is gratifying to know that during the year more than 500 pieces of literature, containing valuable information concerning Serpent Mound, have been sold to visitors at the Park. It is fair to assume that this information will bear fruit in an increasing interest in archæology.

The Great Serpent Effigy lies prone upon the plateau, holding in Sphinx-like silence its great secrets that many a devoted archæologist would gladly give next to his life to know.

Respectfully submitted,

W. H. Cole,
W. C. Mills,
Committee.

Dr. J. M. Dunham stated that he was requested two years ago to visit the site of the Warren County serpent mound, situated near Stubbs Mill, and that being an old stamping ground of his he was familiar with the country and acquainted with most of the people; a short time ago he made a second visit to the mound: this property was left by the owner in such manner that it cannot be purchased at present, there being a life estate outstanding. He however, will keep track of the property, and when the time comes that it can be secured, notify the Society. He had a talk with the tenant, and found the ground has been plowed, but was promised, after the value of the mound was explained, that no further plowing would be done. This promise was kept.

President Emeritus Wright stated that this second Serpent Mound in Ohio is of very great value and importance, and should be secured by the Society, if possible.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOGAN ELM PARK.

Within the last twelve months a new and second entrance has been constructed and the old one restored. An entrance way has also been built, consisting of two posts, with a wing from each, composed of small glacial stones, collected from fields and roadsides.

A memorial to the Indian Chief Logan, in the shape of a granite monument has been started and foundation and base completed.

During the season of 1918 twenty-five hundred visitors registered in the Cabin. This year from April 19th to August 6th there were sixteen hundred so registered.

Since the tree was mulched its vitality has been improved. It has been decided by experts that the limbs of the tree are too frail to repair with cement, though it would be advisable to arrive at some plan to keep the water from lodging in open places on the limbs or in the trunk. Your attention is earnestly called to this request. The grounds have been well cared for.

No requests are made beyond funds for the proper care of the grounds and the tree.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK TALLMADGE,
Chairman.

Mr. Tallmadge: "I want to call the attention of the Committee on Historical Sites to the fact that Pickaway Township, Pickaway County, is a fertile field. I wonder how many of the people here now know that it contains the sites of Shawnee Villages? It had Chief Cornstalk's town, Grenadier Squaw Town, the site of Cornstalk's council house, the place where the white people were made to run the gauntlet, the burning ground, where they were burnt at the stake. We know where Camp Lewis and Charlotte were located, but I don't believe any one living fifty years from now will know. If you find any one in Pickaway Township, Circleville or the county who will cooperate towards marking these sites I wish you would give them my name and address."

Mr. Fred Hinkle, of Cincinnati, a life member of the Society, was present and stated that this is the first meeting of the Society he has been able to attend; that he has been greatly interested in hearing the reports, particularly regarding the

various mounds and parks. He congratulated the Society on its work, and stated this meeting will give him renewed enthusiasm.

Mr. Randall stated that the Historical Commission of Ohio, was appointed without legal authority, a year ago last January or February, by Governor Cox; it is simply a committee acting voluntarily. The purpose is to gather at once the material and data of the activities of Ohio in connection with the Great War. This includes Y. M. C. A., Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, enlistments, war chests and similar activities. The committee consisted of nineteen, mostly the professors of history in the different colleges. That committee has acted as an adjunct, so to speak, to this Society, owing to the fact that I, being secretary of this Society, was made ex officio a member. We furnished them with quarters in this building. Prof. A. M. Schlesinger was made chairman of the commission. He has resigned and now lives in another state. He acted also as secretary of the commission. The officers of the commission requested Mr. Felch to come and take his place here. He will now read his report.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE OHIO HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

The writer of this statement of the condition of the archives of the Historical Commission of Ohio, has been in the office as executive secretary of the Commission for only two short months, and can not, therefore, give anything more than a cursory and insufficient report of the work.

Owing to the retirement of Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, the duties thereof have devolved upon the Acting Chairman, Dr. E. O. Randall, from whom a full report can be expected at the end of the year.

The Historical Commission was appointed by Governor James M. Cox in February, 1918. The members designated to conduct its work were, in the main, the leading historical professors of all the colleges and universities of the State. This Commission has since been augmented by the appointment of a series of County Chairmen, acting under the instructions of the State Chairman, to gather all available material in the counties that might otherwise be thrown away.

The only complete and satisfactory history of any county's participation in the war can be printed, after it has been edited or largely compiled from the archives of the State Commission.

That was my first impression, and Dr. Schlesinger's, that the Archæological Museum will become in time the mecca for county historians, or, as he phrased it, a "laboratory" for scientific historical research, experiment, synthesis, and exploitation, — forever!"

We are still receiving papers from 67 of the 88 Ohio counties, in many cases two or three papers from a county, making about 150 papers in all; scrap-books are being formed steadily, by daily accretion. Ten are on the shelves; sixteen are ready for the bindery, and ten more partially filled out to the requisite average of 200 pages to a volume. We receive a goodly number of German newspapers, which are read and edited for our scrap-book collection by Prof. Wittke, of the Historical Department of the University, who is also the representative in the business of accumulating the data for this Commission in Franklin county. We have also a number of Slavonic newspapers, Roumanian, Bohemian, Polish, and other languages, published in Ohio—at Cleveland, Cincinnati and Youngstown principally—and we are still receiving, also, all forms of blanks, press-releases, printed and regulated forms, from the United States Government and State bureaus of governmental activity, which are still in use.

(Signed) W. Farrand Felch,

[On account of lack of space we have abbreviated in this printed report the very able and elaborate report made by Mr. Felch. The full report will be found in the Secretary's Minute book. — Editor.]

REPORT OF CIVIL WAR HISTORIAN.

Along other lines I have had correspondence with many officers surviving, who served in Ohio organizations, regarding certain campaigns and battles, and have copied reports and orders issued by commanders of brigades, division corps and army commanders, to fortify statements in the general history. For instance, referring to the battle of Chickamauga, the second greatest battle of the war, Ohio had 55 regiments and batteries in that battle — a greater number of troops than from any other state, and the army was commanded by an Ohio general. This is only one instance of many that can be cited, and it is the purpose to give Ohio troops full credit for their devoted service on every great battlefield of the war, fortified by official orders and reports. I have also secured through the navy department at Washington, a roster of Ohio men who served in the navy, numbering 5,400.

I have also secured during the past year, a file of Cincin-

nati newspapers published during the Civil War, in which is published important information regarding certain campaigns and battles written by responsible correspondents who were on the battlefields. Also important history connected with the work of the Christian commissions, Aid societies and army nurses, as little has been published as to their devoted services in hospitals and on the battlefields.

Respectfully,
(Signed) W. L. Curry.

Treasurer Wood then read the reports of the Treasurer, and Auditors.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER

For Year Ending June 30, 1919.

Receipts.

Balance on hand July 1, 1918	$2,670 58
Life Membership Dues	35 00
Active Membership Dues	73 50
Books Sold	206 43
Subscriptions	28 00
Interest	808 99
Supplies Sold	17 57
Refund for Lights	28 25
Cash advanced by Minna T. Nye on account of Campus Martius	2,000 00
Refund for Pictures	3 34
From State Treasurer on Appropriations	21,591 75
Total Receipts	$27,463 41

Disbursements.

Transferred to Permanent Fund	$745 00
Care and Improvement:	
Logan Elm Park	277 26
Serpent Mound Park	231 36
Fort Ancient	677 05
Spiegel Grove Park	72 12
Salaries	11,300 00
Supplies:	
Office	113 35
General Plant	174 61
Publications	3,003 46
Library Equipment	524 94
Museum Equipment	607 00
Repairs and Upkeep of Buildings	444 22
Water Rentals	71 47
Light, Heat and Power	1,790 70
Express, Freight and Drayage	48 62
Expenses of Trustees and Committees	403 17
Telephone Rentals	79 20

Sundry Expenses:	
Auditing	40 00
Premium on Treasurer's Bond	15 00
Field Work	1,193 12
Insurance	112 64
Postage	136 50
Hayes Memorial Building:	
Repairs	75 89
Office Supplies	46 86
Wages	365 85
Total Disbursements	$22,549 39

Total Receipts	$27,463 41	
Total Disbursements	22,549 39	
Balance on Hand, June 30, 1919	$4,914 02	

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood, *Treasurer.*

Treasurer Wood then read the report of the Auditors, as follows:

Columbus, Ohio, August 20, 1919.

Mr. E. O. Randall, *Secretary,*
The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

At the request of Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer of your society, we have made an audit of your books of account for your fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, and herewith present our report together with supporting schedules.

Vouchers supporting Cash Disbursements were examined and distributions found to be correct.

Checks drawn against your current account were examined and the balance in bank reconciled with the books as shown on page 3.

On July 1, 1918 your balance on hand was	$2,670 58
During the year Cash Receipts were	24,792 83
Making a total of	$27,463 41
Disbursements were	22,549 39
Leaving a balance on June 30, 1919, of	$4,914 02

which, as shown on page 3, is represented by:

Capital City Bank—Checking Account	$814 02
Certificates of Deposit:	
Ohio State Savings Association, No. 74627	2,000 00
Ohio State Savings Association, No. 79094	2,000 00
Savings Account No. 81700—Ohio State Savings Association	100 00
Total as above	$4,914 02

Your Permanent Fund is represented by Ohio State Savings Association:

Certificate of Deposit No. 79992 for	$14,775 00
The Balance on July 1, 1918, was	14,030 00
Showing an increase for the year of	$745 00
Resulting from:	
Interest	$708 99
Life Memberships	35 00
Transferred from Current Fund	1 01
Total as above	$745 00

On page 5 we are submitting a Balance Sheet as at June 30, 1919.

The Property Investment shows a balance of	$567,701 61
On June 30, 1918 it was	565,713 75
An increase of	$1,987 86
Represented by purchase, during the year, of	
Land (Improvements)	$505 92
Library and Museum Equipment	985 61
Books	146 33
Automobile	350 00
Total as above	$1,987 86

Summary Journal entries necessary to carry the foregoing increases into your accounts are presented on page 6 herein. Before these entries are passed, however, we advise that the entry recorded on page 6 of the report of audit of June 30, 1918, be transferred to your Journal and proper Ledger accounts opened and posted.

The neatness and accuracy of the books is deserving of our special commendation. Respectfully submitted,

W. D. Wall,
Certified Public Accountant

POST CLOSING TRIAL BALANCE AS AT JUNE 30, 1919.

	Dr.	Cr.
State Treasurer	$1,498 33	
Appropriation — E-2 Equipment		$4 00
Appropriation — E-9 Equipment		97
Appropriation — Non Structural Improvements		40
E. F. Wood, Treasurer	4,914 02	
Cash		4,914 02
Investments	14,775 00	
Permanent Fund		14,775 00
Office Supplies		11
General Plant Supplies		1 92
E-8 Equipment		6 12
F-3 Open Order Service		106 76
F-4 Open Order Service		1,243 94
F-6 Open Order Service		96 78
F-7 Open Order Service — Communication		32 60
F-9 Open Order Service — Field Work		73
F-9 Publications		4 00
	$21,187 35	$21,187 35

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1919.

Receipts.

Balance, July 1, 1918		$2,670 58
Life Membership Dues	$35 00	
Active Membership Dues	73 50	
Books sold	206 43	
Subscriptions	28 00	
Interest	808 99	
Supplies sold	17 57	
Refund for lights	28 25	
Cash advanced by Minna T. Nye	2,000 00	
Refund for pictures	3 34	
	$3,201 08	
From State Treasurer on appropriations	$21,591 75	$24,792 83
		$27,463 41

Disbursements.

Transferred to Permanent Fund		$745 00
Care and Improvement:		
Logan Elm Park	$277 26	
Serpent Mound Park	231 36	
Fort Ancient Park	677 05	
Spiegel Grove Park	72 12	1,257 79
Salaries		11,300 00
Supplies:		
Office	113 35	
General Plant	174 61	287 96
Publications		3,003 46
Library Equipment		524 94
Museum Equipment		607 00
Repairs and Upkeep of Buildings		444 22
Water Rentals		71 47
Light, Heat and Power		1,790 70
Express, Freight and Drayage		48 62
Expense of Trustees and Committees		403 17
Telephone rentals		79 20
Sundry Expenses:		
Auditing	40 00	
Premium on Treasurer's Bond	15 00	55 00
Field Work		1,193 12
Insurance		112 64
Postage		136 50
Hayes Memorial Building:		
Repairs $75 89		
Office Supplies 46 86	122 75	
Wages	365 85	$22,549 39
Balance on hand June 30, 1919		$4,914 02

BANK RECONCILIATION AS AT JUNE 30, 1919.

Balance as per pass book, Capital City Bank, dated July 3, 1919		$872 85
Less: Outstanding Checks—		
No. 2282	$8 00	
No. 2283	38 06	
No. 2284	61 76	
No. 2285	1 01	108 83
		$764 02
Add: Deposit of July 7, 1919		$50 00
Total in Checking Account		$814 02
Certificates of Deposit:		
No. 74627	$2,000 00	
No. 79094	2,000 00	4,000 00
Savings Account No. 81700		$100 00
Balance as per Ledger		$4,914 02

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1919.

	Balance July 1 1918	*Amount Appropriated during year.*
Personal Service A-1 Salaries	.....	$11,175 00
Personal Service A-2 Wages	$115 85	250 00
Maintenance:		
C. Supplies C-4	19 21	250 00
C. Supplies C-11 General Plant Supplies	24 14	175 00
E. Equipment E-2 Household	4 00	.....
E. Equipment E-8 Educational	26 06	500 00
E. Equipment E-9 General Plant Equipment	7 97	600 00
F. Contract and Open Order Service		
F-1 Repairs	12 20	600 00
F-3 Water	43 23	135 00
F-4 Light, Heat and Power	1,634 64	2,400 00
F-6 Transportation	119 51	400 00
F-7 Communication	18 80	93 00
F-9 General Plant Service		
Publications	7 46	3,000 00
Explorations	523 85	750 00
Republishing Reports	.....	.....
H-7 Insurance	.....	.....
G. Additions and Betterments:		
G-2 Shelterhouse, Serpent Mound	.....	.....
G-3 Gateways	164 90	.....
	$2,721 82	$20,328 00

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1919 — Continued.

Transfers of Funds.

Maintenance:	
F. Contract and Open Order Service:	
F-1 Repairs	$1,000 00
F-4 Light, Heat and Power	1,000 00

Transferred from Light, Heat and Power (F-4) To Repairs (F-1)

	Total.	*Cash Drawn from State Treas.*
Personal Service A-1 Salaries	$11,175 00	$11,175 00
Personal Service A-2 Wages	365 85	365 85
Maintenance:		
C. Supplies C-4	269 21	269 10
C. Supplies C-11 General Plant Supplies	199 14	197 22
E. Equipment E-2 Household	4 00	.....
E. Equipment E-8 Educational	526 06	519 94
E. Equipment E-9 General Plant Equipment	607 97	607 00
F. Contract and Open Order Service:		
F-1 Repairs	1,612 20	1,612 20
F-3 Water	178 23	71 47
F-4 Light, Heat and Power	3,034 64	1,790 70
F-6 Transportation	519 51	422 73
F-7 Communication	111 80	79 20
F-9 General Plant Service		
Publications	3,007 46	3,003 46
Explorations	1,273 85	1,273 12
Republishing Reports	.....	.....
H-7 Insurance	.....	.....
G. Additions and Betterments:		
G-2 Shelterhouse, Serpent Mound	.....	.....
G-3 Gateways	164 90	164 50
	$23,049 82	$21,551 49

	Total Deductions.	*Balance June 30, 1919.*
Personal Service A-1 Salaries	$11,175 00	.....
Personal Service A-2 Wages	365 85	.....
Maintenance:		
C. Supplies C-4	269 10	$0 11
C. Supplies C-11 General Plant Supplies	197 22	1 92
E. Equipment E-2 Household	.....	4 00
E. Equipment E-8 Educational	519 94	6 12
E. Equipment E-9 General Plant Equipment	607 00	97
F. Contract and Open Order Service:		
F-1 Repairs	1,612 20	.....
F-3 Water	71 47	106 76
F-4 Light, Heat and Power	1,790 70	1,243 94
F-6 Transportation	422 73	96 78
F-7 Communication	79 20	32 60

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1919 — Concluded.

	Total Deductions.	*Balance June 30, 1919.*
F-9 General Plant Service		
Publications	3,003 46	4 00
Exploration	1,273 12	73
Republishing Reports	.....	.....
H-7 Insurance	.....	.....
G. Additions and Betterments:		
G-2 Shelterhouse, Serpent Mound	.....	.....
G-3 Gateways	164 50	40
	$21,551 49	$1,498 33

BALANCE SHEET AS AT JUNE 30, 1919.

Assets

Cash—			
Checking Account		$814 02	
Savings Account		100 00	$914 02
Certificate of Deposit:			
Current Fund		4,000 00	
Permanent Fund		14,775 00	18,775 00
Real Estate:			
Land—Balance June 30, 1918..	$107,135 00		
Additions during year...	505 92	107,640 92	
Buildings and Structures...		186,360 00	294,000 92
Equipment and Exhibits:			
House Furniture and Furnishings		32,347 00	
Library and Museum Equipment:			
Balance June 30, 1918.....	29,439 50		
Additions during year.....	985 61	30,425 11	
Archæological and Historical Exhibits		180,050 00	
Books:			
Balance June 30, 1918.....	28,382 25		
Additions during year.....	146 33	28,528 58	
Paintings		2,000 00	
Automobile		350 00	273,700 69
			$587,390 63

Contra.

Current Fund—E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....	$2,914 02
Advanced by Minna T. Nye for Retaining Wall.....	2,000 00
Permanent Fund Invested.....	14,775 00
Society's Property Investment.....	567,701 61
	$587,390 63

JOURNAL ENTRIES NECESSARY TO RECORD INCREASE IN SOCIETY'S PERMANENT INVESTMENT FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1919.

Land (Improvements).....	$505 92	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		$505 92

For Expenditures made during year as per Vouchers as follows:

Date.	*Voucher.*	*Amount.*
September 15, 1918	1198.....	$164 50
February 12, 1919	1294.....	240 65
May 20, 1919	1361.....	100 77
		$505 92

Library and Museum Equipment.....	985 61	
Books	146 33	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		1,131 94

For expenditures made during year and charges as follows:

Ledger Page.	*Account.*	*Amount.*
80	Museum Equipment....	$607 00
172	Library Equipment.....	524 94
		$1,131 94

Automobile	350 00	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		350 00

For purchase of automobile as per Voucher 1319 dated March 26, 1919.

Hon. F. W. Treadway, chairman of the committee on Spiegel Grove, notified the Secretary that he would be unable to be present at the meeting. In his letter of regret over his unavoidable absence, he stated that it was rather difficult for any one to act as chairman in the absence of Col. Hayes, who has recently returned from Europe and is now in New York, but will soon be back in Fremont and resume his active supervision of Spiegel Grove Park.

There being no further reports by committees, Secretary Randall reminded the members present that at this time the terms of office as Trustees of Messrs. L. P. Schaus, D. J. Ryan and F. W. Treadway expire, and their successors should be elected. Upon motion those gentlemen were nominated to be their own successors for the term of three years, and they were unanimously so chosen.

The meeting adjourned to reconvene at 1:30 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 1:30 P. M. the meeting was called to order. Mr. Randall stated that, two years ago the life membership fee was raised from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars, since which time no new life members have been received into the Society. He therefore wished to move that Section 2 of Article 2 of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The payment at any one time of twenty-five dollars ($25.00) to the Society shall constitute the person so paying a life member. Life members shall be exempt from all further dues, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which shall be determined by the trustees to be not less than twenty-five dollars ($25.00) shall be entitled to life membership. Said life membership payments shall constitute a permanent fund to be invested at the discretion of the Executive Committee. The income only of this fund to be used by the Society for such purposes as the Executive Committee may direct."

Mr. Mills seconded the motion, and after considerable discussion the amendment was duly adopted.

On motion of Mr. Wood: Section 3, Article 2, was amended by striking out the word "three" before the word "dollars" and substituting in lieu thereof the word "two". This changed the price of the quarterly. As amended the section reads:

"Sec. 3. Active members shall be residents of Ohio, and shall pay in advance an annual fee of two dollars. They shall be entitled to vote and hold office. They shall receive free all publications of the Society and have free access to the museum and library."

Dr. J. M. Henderson moved that the chair appoint a committee of three to conduct a campaign during the coming year to secure new members. The motion of Mr. Henderson was duly seconded and carried. The chair appointed W. C. Mills, F. W. Treadway and Dr. J. M. Henderson as the members of that committee.

Mr. Wood moved that the chairman of this meeting, the secretary and curator be appointed a committee to go over and inspect Fort Laurens, with instructions to report their recommendaions to the next meeting of the Trustees.

Mr. Randall suggested that Mr. Byron Long be made a member of the committee, to which Mr. Wood assented if that is desired. Carried.

LIBRARY.

Mr. Mills stated that the library has been under the care of his daughter during the past year. She has devoted the greater part of her time to taking care of the war papers that come in; that is a great undertaking. During the coming year it is intended to let Mr. Felch take care of the Historical Commission work, and Miss Mills will confine her work strictly to the library. A great many volumes have been added to the library, by gift and otherwise. The children of the city are beginning to patronize the library — the little fellows really enjoy coming here to see the papers. This is certainly doing a good work.

No report was available as to Big Bottom Park.

Mr. Wood moved that the Finance Committee as appointed by the Board of Trustees be charged with the responsibility of not only making up the budget, but of standing back of it and seeing it through. The motion carried.

The Curator reported the death of Col. James Kilbourne. For many years Col. Kilbourne had been a member of the Society, and his death is deeply deplored. So far as known no other member of the Society died during the past year.

On motion of Dr. Cole the meeting adjourned.

The trustees then held their annual meeting.

Present: Messrs. L. P. Schaus, G. Frederick Wright, George F. Bareis, E. F. Wood, E. O. Randall, B. F. Prince, Waldo C. Moore and W. H. Cole.

On motion of Mr. Prince, James E. Campbell was reelected President, and D. J. Ryan and George F. Bareis were reelected First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively; Mr. E. O. Randall was reelected Secretary and Mr. E. F. Wood was reelected Treasurer.

Mr. Wood: Moved that the President and Secretary be authorized to appoint the standing committees for the coming year, and also the special committees authorized which have not been filled. Carried.

Treasurer Wood made a detailed statement of the budget requests submitted by the Society, together with the appropriations granted. No action was taken to apportion the various funds, the same being referred to the Finance Committee, with power to act.

Mr. Wood: Moved that the Trustees hold quarterly meetings during the coming year. Carried.

After some discussion as to the most convenient time for holding the quarterly meetings Mr. Wood moved that the Board meet at 1:30 P. M. on the second Wednesday in November, February and May — the annual meeting will be in August. Seconded and carried.

Mr. Mills moved that Mr. William B. Mills, Chillicothe, Mr. Charles M. Haynes, Chillicothe, and Mr. A. C. West, Bainbridge, be made life members. Mr. Mills has presented a collection, worth close to five hundred dollars, to the Society. Both Mr. Haines and Mr. West have donated their collections. The motion was carried.

The meeting adjourned.

STANDING COMMITTEES,

1919-1920.

Finance: Messrs. James E. Campbell, L. P. Schaus, Daniel J. Ryan, George F. Bareis, E. F. Wood and W. C. Mills.

Publications: Messrs. Daniel J. Ryan, E. F. Wood and E. O. Randall.

Museum: Messrs. W. C. Mills, George F. Bareis, Dr. J. M. Henderson, Almer Hegler, T. D. Hills and Harry L. Goodbread.

Library: Messrs. E. O. Randall, Daniel J. Ryan, H. C. Hockett and W. H. Seibert.

Historical Sites: Messrs. G. Frederick Wright, Byron R. Long and F. H. Darby.

Fort Ancient: Messrs. B. F. Prince, W. C. Moore, J. M. Dunham and H. C. Shetrone.

Spiegel Grove: Messrs. Webb C. Hayes,Irvin T. Fangboner, F. W. Treadway, Daniel J. Ryan, W. J. Sherman and W. C. Mills.

Logan Elm Park: Mr. Frank Tallmadge, Mrs. Dr. Howard Jones, Messrs. H. J. Booth, J. S. Roof and O. F. Miller.

Serpent Mound: Messrs. W. H. Cole and W. C. Mills.

Big Bottom Park: Messrs. C. W. Justice and C. L. Bozman.

Fort Miami, Fort Meigs and Fallen Timbers: Messrs. W. J. Sherman, G. Frederick Wright and F. W. Treadway.

Warren County Serpent Mound: Messrs. G. Frederick Wright, F. H. Darby, Charles H. Hough and J. M. Dunham.

Fort Laurens: Messrs. Byron R. Long, W. L. Curry and E. O. Randall.

Campus Martius: Messrs. James E. Campbell, W. C. Mills, E. O. Randall and L. P. Schaus.

Great War History: Messrs. James E. Campbell, W. L. Curry and H. C. Hockett.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXVIII.

A.

Abbott, David, Ohio Presidential Elector, (1812), 367.
Abolition, in Kansas, 192-205.
Abolitionists, 21, 372.
Ackley, J. M. (Dr.), prominent Cleveland physician, 80.
Adams, American vessel, (1812), 355.
Adams, Ashel, in War 1812, 314.
Adams, Charles Francis, 20, 21; letter to Giddings, 29; facsimile Giddings letter, 30; 136.
Adams, George W., son of J. Q. Adams, 136.
Adams, John, son of J. Q. Adams, 136.
Adams, John, quoted, 98; at Paris Treaty, 183.
Adams, John Quincy, defends right of petition, 11; contemporary with Giddings, 14, 29; Presidential levees, 135, 136; personality, 142; Chase defends, 145.
Adams, John Quincy (Mrs.), 136, 143.
Adams, ——— (Mrs.), in Jackson's administration, 152.
Adams, ———, Inkeeper, Military road, (1812), 367.
Adams, Nathaniel F., officer War 1812, 365.
Adelphi Theater, 75.
Adventure, (See Mayflower).
Africa, Stanley in, 266.
Aiken, Thomas, Dartmouth tutor, 124, 126.
Akron, 103; *Germania,* attitude in World War, 89, 95.
Alabama, 195.
Albany, 118; *Evening Journal,* 36; "War Wurx," 278.
Alexander VI., Pope, cedes Ohio Country to Spain, 256.
Alexandria (Va.), Tory activity at, 51.
Alexandrian Library, 112, 262.
Aliens, in War 1812, 314.
Alleghenies, 53; first college west of, 70; 262, 375, 385.
Allen, ——— (Col.), commands Kentucky infantry, Ft. Wayne, (1812), 326, 327, 329, 358; Indians kill spies of, 359.
Allen County, 376.
Allen, E. (Rev.), 132, 133.
Allen, John W., Cleveland mayor, 80.
Allen, William (Gov.), 100.
Almanac, pioneer use of, 267; Hagerstown, 376.
Alsace, Napoleon's soldiers from, 391.
Alsatians, among Ohio pioneers, 391, 392.
Alvord, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Amazon River, 186.
Amelia, vessel, British capture, (1812), 298.
America, freedom inherent in, 3; 65, 66; Charles Dickens in, 72, 78.
American, gas masks presented to Society, 402.
American Antiquarian Society, 48, 50, 51, 53, 67, 68.
American Anti-Slavery Society, 40.
"American Citizens' League," successor to German-American Alliance, 88.
Americanization, in Ohio parochial schools, 215.
Americans, British employ Indians against, 54; Ohioans first typical, 263; army of (1812), 313; at Hull's surrender, 318; disloyalty of (1812), 352; army at Ft. Defiance, 353; British take prisoners, (1812), 355; provisions for army (1812), 363.
Ames, pioneer settlement Athens Co., 262.
Amestown, 202.
Amherstburg, militia and fort at (1812), 340, 341; Americans withdraw from, 342, 343; troops at, 345.
Amsterdam, 378.
Anarchists, 88.
Anderson, Governor, 243.
Anderson, ——— (Lieut.), General Hull's courier, 338, 339.
Andes Mountains, 186.
Andover Academy, 143.

Andrews, E. Benjamin (Prof.), responds to toast, Marietta celebration, 203.
Andrews, Lorin, 243.
Anglican Church, first services in Kentucky, 50; 391.
Anglo-Saxon, in Ohio, 264.
"Annals of the West," — Perkins, contents of, 178.
Anspach, family of, 380.
"Anthony and Cleopatra," Gen. Lytle's poem, 259, 269.
Anthony, L. D., owner of Dickens' table, 79.
Antietam, battle, Ohio at, 233; 244.
Anti-Slavery, Massachusetts Society of, 23; 26; American Society for, 40.
Appomattox, 233; surrender at, 245.
Arabs, destroy libraries, 112.
Arbacroch, Indians from, War 1812, 339.
Arbuckle, Matthew (Capt.), commander Ft. Randolph, 54.
Archaeological and Historical Society, exhibits of, 415. (See Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.)
Argonauts, 259.
Army, of Ohio, (1812), 287.
Arnold, John H., (Lieut. Gov.), 226; presents Society with fossil, 403.
Arnold, Matthew, quoted, 255.
Articles —
Joshua Reed Giddings, 1-47.
Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands, 48-71.
Charles Dickens in Ohio in 1842, 72-81.
Ohio's German Language Press and the War, 82-95.
Ohio State Library Centennial, 96-114.
"Ohio," poem, 115-117.
Editorialana: Biography of Grover Cleveland, 118.
Salmon Portland Chase, 119-161.
Ulrich Group of Mounds, 162-175.
Some Notes on Ohio Historiography, 176-185.
Ewing's Address at Marietta, (1858), 186-207.
Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War, 208-224.
Ohio Battle Flags, 225-250.
Editorialana, 251-254.
"High Lights in Ohio Literature," Randall, 255-279.
Siege of Fort Meigs, 280-285.
Ohio in the War of 1812, 286-368.
Birthplace of John Brough, 369-374.
Articles—Concluded.
Lutheranism in Perry County, 375-395.
Annual Meeting of Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 396-420.
Artillery, Ohio battle flags of, 237, 238.
Ashland, (Ky.), 21.
Ashley River, 198.
Ashtabula County, pioneer life in, 5; 8.
Astor Library, 108.
Athens County, pioneer library in, 262.
Athens, Greece, 148, 258.
Athens (Pa.), Giddings born in, 5.
Athens (O.), library at, 114; 186, 202, 203; University at, 258; 262, 371.
Athenians, mentioned, 256.
Atherton, Charles G., introduces "Gagg" Law, 11.
Atkinson, ———, receives letter military matters (1812), 335.
Atlanta, 233.
Atlantic Ocean, 67, 274.
Attica, geography and types of people in, 257.
Atwater, Caleb, Ohio historian, 180.
Auglaize River, Indians from, at Urbana Council (1812), 296; Ft. Jennings on, 360.
Augusta County (Va.), Tory help expected from, 51; Revolutionary Committee correspondence in, 52.
Aurora, on Military Road, 367.
Austerlitz, battle, 391.
Austin, ———, (Maj.), commands troops, War 1812, 326.
Australia, 186.
Automobiles, 273.
Aux Cannard River, (Canada), War 1812, 341.
Aventine Hill, Liberty Temple and Library on, 112.
Avery, military camp, (1812), Huron Co., 333.
Avery, Elroy M., Ohio historical writer, 272.
Avery, Ned, Dartmouth student, 127, 180.

B.

Bacon, Francis, Essays, 263; 275.
Bacon, Delia Salter, author, "Baconian Theory," 275.
Bacon, Henry, Secretary Urbana Indian Council, 304.
"Baconian Theory," origin in Ohio, 275.
Baden (Germany), 377.
Bainbridge, 419.

Baker, Joseph (Hon.), presides at Marietta Celebration (1858), 202.
Baldwin - Wallace College, pro - German President removed, 214; 215.
Baltimore, Chase visits, 144, 145; 152, 153, 154.
Baltimore American, quoted, War 1812, 294.
Bancroft, George, historian, referred to, 178, 183.
Bane, Henry, 377.
Bane, John George, 377.
Banks, Nathan, expedition of, 245.
Banks, United States and State, in Ohio, 100; currency electrotypes of, 402.
Baptists, in Ohio, 209; varieties of, 210; pioneer, 392.
Barbee, ———, commands troops (1812), 329.
Barber, John W., projector of state histories, 180.
Barclay, ———, (Capt.), in War 1812, 285.
Bareis, George F., presides at *Society*, 396; elected Vice-President of *Society*, 418; on *Society's* Committees, 419-420.
Bargar, B. L., (Col.), 228.
Bark, used in prehistoric burials, 169, 172.
Bartholomew, ———, (Rev.), pioneer Lutheran pastor, 392.
Bartlett (O.), 141.
Bartlett, Ichabod, New Hampshire Congressman, 136.
Bartlett, J. (Hon.), 133.
Bassett, J. S. (Prof.), biographer Andrew Jackson, 156.
Bates, David Homer, White House telegrapher, Civil War, 278.
Bauman, Arthur, 175.
Beach, William (Lieut.), in War 1812, 312.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 267.
Beads, prehistoric, found with burials, 169, 172.
Beard, ———, portrait painter, 74.
Beargrass Creek (Ky.), 63.
Beatty, John (Gen.), 244.
Beaver (Pa.), on Military Road, 367.
Beck, Albert (Rev.), quoted, 389.
Beecher, family of, in Ohio, 270; Lyman, President Lane Seminary, 270.
Belgium, slavery in, 2; invasion of, justified, 85; Limburger cheese originated in, 87; area compared with N. W. Territory, 188.
Bell, ——— (Gen.), commands militia (1812), 319; interested in Maumee Road, 334.
Bellevue (O.), 78; German dropped in schools, 86.
Belmont County, 377.
Belpre (O.), first public library in Ohio, 262.
Bennett, Emerson, Ohio author, 275.
Bentham, Jeremy, presents books to State Library, 100.
Benton, Thomas H., 372.
Berg, Henry, founder Humane Society, 273.
Bernhardi, ———, mentioned, 86.
Bevis, William, soldier 1812, killed, 357.
Bible, used among pioneers, 267.
Bibliography, on Toryism, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71.
Bierich, Judge, 378.
Big Bottom Park, 418; *Society's* Standing Committee on, 420.
Big River, Chief, at Urbana Indian Council, 299.
Bills, James S., killed in War 1812, 333.
Binckley, Christian, Perry County pioneer, 375; establishes Lutheranism in Ohio, 376; family, 379, 380.
Bingerlock (Germany), 378.
Bird, Henry (Capt.), Virginia loyalist, 60; British grant lands to, 69.
Birney, James, Liberty Party, candidate for President, 270.
Bissel, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, (1812), 367.
Black Brigade, battle-flag of, 237.
Black Hoof, Chief, at Urbana Indian Council, 299, 302; at Piqua Indian Council, 323; American spy (1812), 368.
Black Fish, Chief, commands Shawnee Indians at Boonesboro, Ky., 56.
Blackman, Simon, killed in War 1812, 333.
Black River, on Military Road (1812), 367.
Black Rock, 336.
Blackstone, William, author of "Commentaries," 134.
Blankenloch (Germany), 377, 378.
"Block House," (Campus Martius), 254.
Blodgett, ———, Dartmouth student, 141, 143.
"Bloody Angle," at Petersburg (Va.), 245.
Bloom, Earl D., President Ohio Senate, 240.

Blue Licks (Lower), 55; surrender of salt-makers at, 57; (Upper), Americans defeated by Indians, 64, 65.
Blue Ridge Mountains, 245.
Bohemian, Ohio newspaper printed in, 408.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, mentioned, 189.
Books —
"Digest of Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of Ancient and Modern Nations," 10.
"The Tories of the Upper Ohio," 49.
"Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio," 49, 55, 57, 63.
"American Loyalists During the Revolution," — Sabine, 70.
"Charles Dickens in America," 72.
"Ohio — Early State and Local History," 77.
"How the War Came to America," German newspapers endorse, 91.
"Manual of the Ohio School System," — Taylor, 103.
"Commercial Relations with Canada," — Taylor, 103.
"History of the State of Ohio," — James W. Taylor, 103.
"Alleghania, Treatise on Slavery," — J. W. Taylor, 103.
"Railroad System of Minnesota, etc." — Taylor, 103.
"Young America," Coggeshall, 104.
"Poets and Poetry of the West," — Coggeshall, 104.
"State Governors," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Social and Moral Advantages of Local Literature," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Men and Events in the West," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Literary and Artistic Enterprises in Cincinnati," Coggeshall, 104.
"The Origin and Progress of Printing," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Home Hits and Hints," 104.
"Journeys of A. Lincoln, Etc.," 104.
"Oakshaw," 104.
"Easy Warren and His Contemporaries," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Signs of the Times," — Coggeshall, 104.
"Paradise Lost," in State Library, 105.
"Paley's Evidences," 124.
Butler's "Analogy of Religion," 124.
"History, Darthmouth College," 129.
Dalrymple on "Feudal Law," 134.
Blackstone's "Commentaries," 134.
Books — Continued
Cruise's "Digest," 134.
Mather's "Magnalia Christi Americans," 140.
Grimshaw's "History of United States," 141.
"Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase," — Schucker, 134.
"Life of George Washington," — Marshall, 141.
"Laws of Ohio," 177.
"Annals of the West," 177.
"Missouri, Laws of," 177.
"American Archives," 177.
"Notes on Virginia," — Jefferson, 177.
"Land Laws of United States," 177.
"American State Papers,"177.
"History of United States," 178.
"Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory," 178.
"Historical Collections of Ohio," — Henry Howe, 179.
"Pioneer History of Ohio Valley," 180.
"Old Northwest," 182, 183.
"Works of Franklin," 182, 183.
"Ohio," — King, 183.
"American Commonwealth," series of, 183.
"Diplomatic Correspondence,"—Wharton, 183.
"Political History of Slavery," — Smith, 184.
"History of Warren County," 185.
"Early Dayton," 185.
"History of Scioto County," 185.
"Description Northwest Territory," — Dr. Cutler, 204.
Gladstone's "History of Kansas," 205.
"Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas," 206.
"Life of Jefferson," —Parton, 207.
In Coonskin Library, 263.
"Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West," 267.
"Poems of Two Friends," 268.
"Beginnings of Literary Culture in Ohio Valley," 268.
"Poets of Ohio," 268.
"Poets and Poetry of the Ohio Valley," 268.
"Buckeye Boyhood," — Venable, 271.
"Dream of Empire," Venable, 271.
"Historic Highways," 272.
"Modern Art of Taming Wild Horses," 273.
"Nathan Burke," 273.

Books — Continued
"Stringtown on the Pike," 273.
"Etidorpha," 273.
"End of the World," 273.
"The Psychic Riddle," 273.
"The Widow's Mite," 273.
"Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded," 275.
"A Buckeye Abroad,' 276.
"Why We Laugh," 276.
"Orient Sunbeams," 276.
"Winter Sunbeams," 276.
"Lincoln in the Telegraph Office," 278.
"History of Marietta," 370.
"German Bible," 376.
Luther's "House Postil," 376.
Arndt's "True Christianity," 376.
"History of the (Lutheran) Joint Synod of Ohio," 385.

Boone, Daniel, accused of being Loyalist, surrender and escape of, 55; Grants parley to British–Indians at Boonesboro, 56; tried for treason, 57; juryman in escheating Connolly's land, 62.

Boonesboro (Boonesborough) (Boone's Station), Transylvania Company at, 50; Tory emissary to, 51; Tory-Indian attack on and surrender of, 52, 54, 55; Boone's strategy and the peace treaty at, 57; attacked by Tories, 63; 64.

Booth, H. J., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.

Boston, 29, 40; Dunmore sends Connolly to, 51, 81; Chase visits, 139, 140; Sparhawk establishes himself in, 150; 154, 158, 160, 199; Ohio Company organized in, 258; 262, 263; "Tea Party" at, 265, 394.

Bourbon, dynasty in France, 204.

Boutwell, George (Gov.) (Mass.), quoted on Petroleum V. Nasby, 277.

Bowling Green (O.), German dropped in schools, 86.

Bowman, John, Miami expedition of, 59.

Bowman, family of, 380.

Boynton, Henry V., Ohio journalist, 266.

"Boz," 78, 81.

Bozman, C. L., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.

Bradford, ———, 202.

Bradley, William C. (Hon.), 133.

Bradly, Calvin, pioneer hotel keeper, 77.

Bradstreet, General, expedition against French and rescues Thomas Morris on Maumee, 259.

Bradt, Andrew (Capt.), Tory leader, attacks Ft. Henry, 66.

Brandt, Joseph (Chief), in Kentucky Tory expedition, 63.

Brest-Litovsk, attitude of German press toward negotiations at, 91.

Brinkerhoff, Roeliff (Gen.), Memoirs of, 273.

British, in War 1812, 7; post at Detroit, 48, 50; Detroit commandant summons Indian conference in interest of Tories, 52; Indian sympathy for, in Revolution, 54; Boone accused of favoring, 57; Tory sympathy for, 58; confiscation of lands in Virginia, 61; Dr. Connolly exchanged with, 62; Sir Guy Carleton commands, in Revolution, 65; hold Indian posts, 66; proposed protectorate over Kentucky; 67; fleet of, at New Orleans, 68; Kentucky prejudices against, 68; McKenzie serves in army of, 70; Democrats attack, 81; permits slavery in colonies, 197, 206; capture vessels (1812), 298; advise Indians, War 1812, 305; at Malden (1812), 308; 309; capture Michilimackinac, 313; aliens in United States (1812), 314-315; liberate volunteers at Hull's surrender, 317; army of, at Hull's surrender, 318; flag on Maumee (1812), 324; attack Detroit, 325; Ohio frontier secured against (1812), 325; besiege Ft. Wayne and schooner of, burned, 326, 327; government for Michigan Territory, 329, 331; account of Hull's surrender, 335; memorandum of arms surrendered to, at Detroit, 336; hold Detroit, 337; Indians join (1812), 339; Lake Erie controlled by (1812), 340; Indians join, 341; gunboats attack Detroit, 343; Indians aid (1812), 344; prepare for Detroit siege, 348; officer replies to white flag at Detroit, 349; bring news of American disloyalty, 352; troops at Defiance, 353; troops at Sandusky, 354; relations with Indians (1812), 355; move artillery toward Ft. Wayne, 356; force in Upper Canada, 357, 358; artillery

British—Concluded.
at Ft. Defiance, 359; at Maumee Rapids, 363; use Indians (1812), 368; besiege Ft. Meigs, 480.
Broadhead, Daniel, on Tory migration to Kentucky, 58.
Brock, ——— (Gen.), Hull's surrender to (1812), 316, 317, 339; attacks Detroit, 325; issues proclamation to citizens of Michigan, 327; 338, 343; receives message from Col. Symmes, 346; demands surrender of Detroit, 348.
Brough, John, Sr., Sheriff Washington County, 369.
Brough, John (Gov.), birthplace of, 369-374; Governor of Ohio, 370; enters politics, 372; Vallandingham campaign, 373; relics of, presented to Society, 402.
Brown, A. G. (Gen.), 202; responds to toast, Marietta Celebration, 203.
Brown, Adam, survivor Battle of Thames, 285.
"Brown Brethren," The, 386.
Brown, Demarcus C., Indiana State Library, 97, 114.
Brown, Edward (Rev.), pioneer preacher, Western Reserve, 252.
Brown, Frederick (Judge), Western Reserve, 202, 252.
Brown, John, Abolitionist, Ohio resident, 270.
Brown, Justus Newton 251.
Brown, Samuel, secures books for the Coonskin Library 263.
Browne, Charles T. (Artemus Ward), Ohio humorist, 277.
Browning, Elizabeth, 269.
Browning, Robert, poet, quoted, 4; 269.
Brownstown, Indian ambuscade at, 341; 359; General Harrison at, 360; location, 366; on Military Road, 367.
Browster, Joseph, Tory, killed by Indians, 50.
Brush, E. (Col.), commands Michigan militia at Hull's surrender, 317, 335.
Brush, Henry (Capt.), commands company, War 1812, 312; at Hull's surrender, 319; at Chillicothe, 319; memorandum of munitions surrendered to British, 336; 341; reinforcements for, on the Raisin, 342; guards provisions on Raisin River, 348, 351.
Bryant Station (Ky.), 49; Tory-Indian attack on, 64.
Bryant, William Cullen, quoted, 269.
Bryson, Lieutenant, (1812), 332.
Buchannan, Captain, War 1812, 295.
Buchman, Alsatian family, 391.
Buck, H. E., 396.
"Buckeye Abroad," Cox's travel book, 376.
Buckeye State, mentioned, 255, 264.
Buckingham, (town), Lutherans at, 389.
Bucyrus, 115.
Buechig (Germany), 377.
Buell, Timothy, Sheriff Washington County, 370.
Buena Vista, battle, Ohio in, 230.
Buffalo, 75, 77; Charles Dickens mentions, 78, 79; 299; news dispatch from (1812), 355.
Bulgaria, Turkish atrocities in, 266; Russia comes to relief, 267.
Bullitt, Thomas (Capt.), surveys land for Loyalists, 48, 49.
Bull Run, battle, 243, 244.
"Bunch of Grapes," Tavern, Ohio Company organized at, 258.
Bunker Hill, 15; McKenzie wounded at, 70; 203.
Burials (prehistoric), 162, 163, 165, 166, 168; wood and stone used in, 170.
Burk, Thomas, originates term "Fourth Estate," 264.
Burlamaqui, authority on law, 134.
Burnet, Jacob, pioneer historian, 178, 182.
Burns, Warren E. (Hon.), Commissioner on Campus Martius, 400.
Burnside,General, 244.
Butler, ———, author "History of Kentucky," 68.
Butler, John (Maj.), Tory leader, 63.
Butler, Joseph, author and philosopher, 124.
Butterfield, Consul Wilshire, author "History of the Girtys," 59, 64.

C.

Calaway, Richard (Col.), accuses Boone of treason, 57.
Caldwell, William (Capt.), leads Tory expedition against Clark, 64; 65; British grant lands, 69.
Calhoun, John C., 9; Duff Green supports, 146; prospective candidate for President and Chase's opinion of, 157;372.
California, 97, 230, 403.
Cambridge (Mass.), Washington's army at, 51; 53; University at, 274.

Cameron, Allen, Tory emissary to Detroit, 51.
"Campaign 1840," 280, 284.
Camp Charlotte, 406.
Camp Lewis, 406.
Camp Meigs, Hull's militia at, 292.
Camp Sherman, religious activity at, 219, 220.
Campbell, James E. (Gov.), 100; address at placing Ohio battle flags, 229, 242-246; 239, 396; chairman Harrison Memorial Committee, 397; elected President of *Society's* Standing Committees, 419-420.
Campbell, John (Col.), lands granted at Ohio Falls, 49; connected with Kentucky Tory movement, 68; raises militia (1812), 296.
Campbell, Lieutenant, commands U. S. troops, (1812), 361.
Campbell, J. M. (Rev.), implicated in Jackson administration scandal, 155, 156.
Campbell, Richard (Col.), writes Washington concerning Tory migration, 58.
Campus Martius (Marietta Block House), Bill providing purchase of, 253, 254; 260, 261; Committee on, reports to *Society,* 399; special committee on, 401; tables used in, presented to *Society,* 402; 409; *Society's* Standing Committee on, 420.
Canada, suggestions for annexation to U. S., 36; trade relations with U. S., 103; 271; Hull's army in, 308; Hull's proclamation to citizens of, 309-311; 313; Chillicothe Company, 1812, in, 312; Dearborn agrees to armistice with, 317; armistice rejected, 321; American forces in, 346; Americans evacuate, 347; 358.
Canada (Lower), 330.
Canada (Upper), letter from, (1812), 298; 319; 339; in War 1812, 342; 344, 346; conquest planned, 357.
Canadians, Tories aid from, 51; attack Boonesboro, 55, 56; in Bird's Kentucky expedition, 60; at Ft. Meigs siege, 283; at Hull's surrender, 337; operations at Malden, 346, 347; join American troops, 347; at Raisin River, 350; at Maumee Rapids, 363.
Canals, Governor Worthington supports, 106, 107; 161.
Canandaigua County (Pa.), 5.
Canton, German newspaper in, 93; pioneer mail route through, 334.
Capitol, Ohio battle flags placed in rotunda of, 225.
Capitolium, Marietta earthwork, 260.
Carleton, Guy (Sir), on Loyalist situation, 56; orders cessation Indian warfare, 65; manifesto of, 66; proposes British protectorate over Mississippi, 67.
Carlton, ———, Dartmouth tutor, 124, 126.
Carlton, John, wounded in War 1812, 333.
Carlyle, Thomas, referred to, 264; receives author "Baconian System," 275.
Carneal, Thomas D., 358.
Carnegie, Andrew, on Libraries, 109.
Carner, Ida E., presents Venezuelan relics to *Society,* 403.
Carolinas, The, 245; Germans in, 390.
Carondelet, Federal gunboat in Civil War, 231.
Carrington, General, 244.
Carrol, Charles, signer Declaration of Independence, 144.
Carrollton, home Charles Carroll, 144.
Carter, Clarence E., Ohio historiography, notes on, by, 176.
Carter, ———, Innkeeper on Military Road (17812), 367.
Cary, Alice and Phoebe, Ohio poets, 268.
Cass, Lewis (Col.), commander War 1812, 288; addresses Ohio militia, 291-292; 294; at Hull's surrender, 318, 325, 337; memorandum of arms at surrender of Detroit, 336; reinforces Americans on Raisin River, 342; 343, 344; General Hull commends, 345; gives account Hull's surrender to Secretary of War, 346-352; views on American loyalty (1812), 352.
Cassill, E. F., presents *Society* with archaeological specimens, 403.
Catawepaso, Chief, at Urbana Indian Council, 299.
Catholics, racial element in Ohio churches, 214; German press challenges, during War, 215; activity at Camp Sherman, 221; war fund donations, 222; during War and National War Council of, 223; in Ohio, 264.
Cavaliers, in Ohio, 264.
Cavalry, battle flags belonging to Ohio regiments of, 237.
Cedar Creek, battle of, 245.

Cedar Mound, 167.
Centinel of Northwest Territory, first
Cerro Gordo, battle, Ohio in, 230.
Chachaga, American packet, captured in War 1812, 345.
Chalcedony, spearhead made of, 163.
Chambers, Julius J., Ohio journalist, 266.
Chambers, Major, British commander, (1812), 341.
Chamblee, aid to Tecumseh, 285.
Champaign County, Urbana Indian Council held in, 299-304.
Chancellorsville, battle, 244.
Channing, Dr., quoted, 98.
Chaplains' Corps, at Camp Sherman, 220.
Chapultepec, battle, Ohio at, 230.
Charcoal, found in prehistoric burials, 172.
"Charge of the Light Brigade," 269.
Charleston (W. Va.), 49.
Chase, Dudley, United States Senator, 132, 133, 150.
Chase, Jane, 127.
Chase, Philander, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, 120-122; founds Kenyon College, 132.
Chase, Salmon P. (Chief Justice), public positions held by, 38; facsimile of letter to Giddings, 39; appoints Coggeshall State Librarian, 103; 104; tribute to Governor Worthington, 107; anti-slavery leader and article on, 119; early life and Warden's biography of, 120; pedagogue, 122-132; religious life, 130; graduate of Dartmouth, 132; seeks government position, 133; studies law and intimate with Wirt family, 134; early interest in politics and contact with slavery, 135; attends Presidential levee, 136; religious mind of, 137, 138; 142; pedagogical experience, 143; relation to Dartmouth, 145; Philosophy on Time and Education, 147-148; advises Sparhawk, 150; prophesies dissolution of Union, 151; political ambitions, 153; visits New England, 154; discusses Jackson administration scandal, 155; on Van Buren and Calhoun, 157; on paternal love, 157; admitted to Bar, 158; describes Cincinnati, 160; Warden's Biography quoted, 161; 249; tribute to Petroleum V. Nasby, 277; incident at Lincoln cabinet meeting, 278.
Chattanooga, 233.
Cherubusco, battle, Ohio in, 230.
Chesapeake Bay, 66, 200.
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Bill, 145.
Chickahominy, battle, 244.
Chickamauga, battle, 243, 244; Ohio in, 408; General Lytle killed at, 269; "Rock" of, 243.
Chillicothe, United States branch bank at, 100; 'Crowbar Law" enforced in, 101; State Capital moved from, 105; Worthington inaugurated Governor at, 107; Episcopal Bishop supplies Chaplain for Camp Sherman, 220, 263; first newspaper, 265; 273, 293, 295; patriotism, War 1812, 311-313; dispatch from (1812), 313, 314; Captain Brush at (1812), 319; letter dated at (1812), 324; news note from (1812), 327, 331; 336, 338; 353, 359; Virginia volunteers at (1812), 361; news note from (1812), 363; 402, 419.
Chillicothe (Little), Shawnees take Boone to, 55; Bowman's expedition to, 59.
Chillicothe (Old), 58; Shawnee expedition against, 62; expedition against Clark at, 64.
Chippewa Indians (Chippeways), join British (1812), 341; 286, 287; at Massassinway Council, 304.
Christian Scientists, war activities, 223.
Christmas, first services of, in Ohio, 386.
Churches, Congregational, Marietta, 208; pioneer clergy, 203; definition of, 208; Ohio's, in the War, 208; Eastern Orthodox, in U. S., 209; Roman Catholic, in U. S., 209; Federal Council of, organized, 210; Ohio State Federation of, and special services of prayer during War, 211; pro-German sentiment among, 212; German, during War, 213; co-operation during War, 222; pioneer building on Western Reserve, 251-253; Lutheran, 375; pioneer buildings, 383; Baptist, 392; Methodist, 392; Reformed, 389.
Cilley, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Cincinnati, Girty expedition reaches, 59; Dickens' description, and newspapers in, (1812), 72; Dickens travels from, 75; 76; German dropped in schools, 86; 97; public library, 98; U. S. branch bank in, 100; Coggeshall publishes magazine, 103; 104; newspaper business in,

Cincinnati—Concluded.
104; literature and art, 104; public library, 112; 119, 120; description of (1830), 121; Chase practices law in, and describes, 158, 159, 161; pacifist preaching in, 213; church activity in military camps, 219; Jewish war activity, 223; "Black Brigade" from, 237; Lafayette visits, 255; origin of name, and re-naming of, 260; early school advertisement and first school house, and first library in, 261, 262; first newspaper in, 264; home of Cary sisters, 268; Lane Seminary, 270; 273, 274; militia from (1812), 294; letter from, War 1812, 324; 328; news note from (1812), 331; Business Men's Club, 397; citizens interested in Harrison Memorial, 396; "Riot" relics presented to *Society*, 402; Civil War newspapers and foreign newspapers, 408.
Cincinnati College, 121.
Cincinnati newspapers —
Abend-Presse, attitude on World War, 83, 87, 89, 90, 93, 95.
America, 160.
Enquirer, quoted, 5; 276.
Freie-Presse, 88, 89, 93.
Gazette, espouses Corwin's candidacy, 29.
Signal, 103.
Volksblatt, attitude on World War, 83; 86; 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95.
Cincinnatus, 260.
Circleville, Westenhaven mound near, 162; 293; citizens join militia (1812), 294; electrotypes from bank in, 402; 406.
"Citadel," The, at Marietta, 261.
Civil John, chief, at Urbana Indian Council, 299.
Civil War, ideals of, 3; Giddings' part in, 5; 10; legislative battles leading toward, 16; 71, 103; Coggeshall on staff of Governor Dennison in, 104; 180; influence on American literature, 181, 182; 183; Ohio battle flags in, 225; Ohio's naval part in, 231; Ohio generals in, 232; Ohio battle flags with names of regiments, 234-236; Governor Campbell's retrospection, 242; Ohio men in, 249; contest for ideals, 250; 252; Memoirs of Ohio generals in, 273; Petroleum V. Nasby in. 277; Perry County Lutherans in, 395; relic of,
Civil War—Concluded.
403; report of *Society's* historian on, 408; Cincinnati newspapers during, 409.
Cladwell, B. (Capt.), survivor Battle of Thames, 285.
Clark, Ellwood, presents *Society* with archaeological specimens, 403.
Clark, George Rogers, captures Vincennes, 56; quoted, 59; at Falls of Ohio, 60; expedition against Shawnees, 62; Tory-Indian expedition against, 64; Ohio Indian expedition of, 66.
Clark, John, Sheriff Washington County, 370.
Claxton, Philander, U. S. Commissioner, Education, quoted on German in Schools, 86.
Clay, Cassius M., 21; letter to Giddings, 33; facsimile of letter to Corwin, 36.
Clay, Green (Gen.), reinforces Americans at Ft. Meigs, 282, 283.
Clay, Henry, letters to Giddings, 20-21, 22; position on Free Soil question, 31; failure to achieve Presidency, 33; 133, 143; Jackson accuses in Eaton scandal, 156; prospective candidate for Presidency, 157; 372.
Clayton, Mr. (Delaware), hat episode, 136.
"Cleona Farm," 369.
Clermont, first successful steamboat, 203.
Cleveland, Dickens visits, 80, 81; German dropped in schools, 86; German-Americans subscribe to Liberty Loans, 89; German newspapers suspend, 93; 250, 263, 271; Indian murder trial and execution in, 286, 296-297; Ohio militia arrives, 1812, from Detroit, 317; militia headquarters at (1812), 319; 321; General Wadsworth headquarters at, and removed from, 322, 327; 333; Ft. Huron near, 360; Military Road through, 365; 366; foreign newspapers in, 408.
Cleveland Mills, on Military Road, 367.
Cleveland Newspapers —
Echo (German Socialist), attitude in World War, 89.
Ierald-Gazette, account siege Mt. Meigs, in, 280.
Plain Dealer, describes Dickens' Cleveland visit, 80, 81; "Artemus

Cleveland Newspapers—Concluded.
Ward" contributes to, 277.
Press, quotations on Giddings from, 7.
Waechter und Anzeiger, attitude during World War, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95.
Cleveland Shore, on Military Road, 367.
Cleveland, Charles Dexter, author and educator, 14, 125, 128, 138, 139, 144, 145.
Cleveland, Grover, proposed biography of, 118.
Cloth, found in prehistoric burials, 172.
Cockerill, John A., Ohio journalist, 266.
Coggeshall, William Turner, State Librarian, 103; Minister to Ecuador, literary productions, travels with Kossuth, and portrait of, 104; 268.
Colby, Mrs., Salmon P. Chase's sister, 135.
Cold Harbor, battle, 244.
Cole, Dr. W. H., *Society* trustee, 396, 418; on Serpent Mound Committee, 405; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Coleman, Sarah J., presents surgical instruments to *Society,* 402.
Colleges, Baldwin-Wallace, 214; Land Grant in Ohio, 258; (See Ohio University, etc.).
Collins, Henry, lands of, escheated, 61, 69.
Collins, (town), 403.
Colonies, British permits slavery in, 197, 206.
Colt, R. E. (Col.), Dickens' host at Sandusky, 79, 80.
Columbia, first Ohio school house in, 261.
Columbiana County, 334, 386.
Columbian Institute, 142.
Columbus (O.), Dickens visits, 74, 75; 77; German dropped in schools, 86; 101, 104; State Capital removed to, 105; Art School, 108; Public Library, 109; 110; Ohio battle flags placed in Capitol, 228; 248; D. A. R. chapter, 253; 265;home of Piatts, 268; 372; *Society* meets in, 396; 401, 403.
Columbus Automobile Club, 402.
Columbus Dental Society, presents *Society* with elephant's skull, 403.
Columbus Public Library, 98, 109.
Columbus Newspapers—
Dispatch, 84.
Columbus Newspapers—Concluded.
Express and Westbote, attitude on War, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.
Gazette, John Griner editor of, 102.
Josephinum Weekly, 215.
Statesman, Cox's description of "Sunset," 276.
Columbus Seminary (Lutheran), 389.
Comly, James M., Ohio journalist, 266.
Comly, Marietta, presents surgical instruments to *Society,* 402.
"Commemoration Ode," 269.
Committee Public Information, German newspaper attitude toward, 91; warns churches concerning sectarianism, 224.
Conard, H. L., one time State Librarian, 97.
"Concentric Spheres," theory of, 274.
Concord (Mass.), 154
Concord (N. H.), 124, 128, 129, 139.
Concord School of Philosophy, Ohio author in, 272.
Conestoga, Union gun boat, Civil War, 231..
"Confedrit X Roads," 277.
Congregational Church, Marietta, 202, 203; pioneer method of building, 252.
Congress, holds Dr. Connolly prisoner, 62; petition for railroad construction, 274; petition to prove theory of "Concentric Spheres," 274; provides road from the Maumee to Western Reserve, 333-334.
Connecticut, Giddings family from, 5; Barber's history of, 180; 252; Ohio pioneers from, 263; Western Reserve of, 287.
Connecticut "Nutmeg," 263.
Connolly, John (Dr.), plans Loyalist colony at Falls of Ohio, 48; Tory influence on Indians, 49; colony thwarted, 50; disbands garrison and visits Dunmore, 51; Tory conference with Mingoes and Delawares, and imprisonment of, 52; conspiracy in Revolution, 53; lands escheated, 61; 62; Colonel in Queen's Rangers, 66; proposes British protectorate over Kentucky, 67; British emissary to Kentucky and escape from, 68; British grant lands, 69.
Conover, Charles D., Speaker Ohio House of Representatives, 226.
Consolidated Kentucky Union, 71.
Constitution (Lake Erie steamer), 81.

Constitution, United States, Northwest Territory not organized under, 190.
Continental Congress, formulates neutrality treaty with Ohio Indians, 52; creates Northwest Territory, 257.
Contractor, vessel captured by British (1812), 298.
Contributors —
Bliss, J. J., "Ohio," — poem, 115–117.
Brown, Justus Newton, 251.
Carter, Clarence E., 176.
Edwards, Martha L., 208.
Long, Byron R., 1.
Martzolff, C. L., "Ewing's Address at Marietta, 1858," 186–202; "Lutheranism in Perry County," 375–420.
Mills, Truman B., 162–175.
Peeke, Hewston W., "Charles Dickens in Ohio in 1842," 72.
Randall, E. O., 251, 253; "High Lights in Ohio Literature," 255.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, 119.
Siebert, Wilbur H., 48.
Wittke, Carl, "Ohio's German-Language Press and the War," 82.
Converse, L. G., second white child born in Ohio, 202.
Conwell, John (Col.), surveyor Mexican War, 230.
Cooke, Edmund Vance, Ohio author, 271.
"Coonskin Library," establishment of, 262; books in, 263.
Cooperrider, family of, 380; Lewis, 393.
Cooper River, 198.
Copper, found in earthworks, 162; axe and breast-plate found in prehistoric burials, 172.
Corning, Lutherans at, 389.
Cornish (N. H), 120.
Cornstalk, Chief, invited to join Tories, 52; attitude in Revolution, 54; murdered, 55; 256; Council House of, 406.
Corwin, Thomas, suggested for Presidency, 26; 29; failure of Presidential ambition, 33; 38; campaign songs for, 102; 372.
Corwin, Walling, presents *Society* with flint speciments, 403.
Coshocton County, pro-German pastor dismissed, 214.
Cossacks, mentioned, 189.
Cotgreave, William W. (Maj.), commands militia (1812), 318.
Cotterman, Magdalene, pioneer Alsatian Lutheran, 392.
Cotton Belt, 245.
Council National Defense, 95.
Cowan, Warren, custodian Ft. Ancient, 404.
Cox, Isaac J., Ohio historical writer, 272.
Cox, Jacob D. (Gov.), Coggeshall secretary to, 104; 243.
Cox, James M. (Gov.), 97; decision concerning conscientious war objectors, 216; 239, 240; tribute to Ohio battle flags, 246; signs bill for purchase Campus Martius, 253; 407.
Cox, Samuel S., "Sunset," Ohio journalist and humorist, 266, 276.
Cranch, Justice, Examines Chase in law, 158.
Crane, Chief (See Tarhee).
Crawford County, 386.
Creel, George, 95.
"Creeping Moses," Dartmouth student, 123, 125, 128.
Crittenden Amendment, 41.
Crook, General, 243.
"Crow-bar Law," 101.
Crown Prince (German), 92.
Cuba, freedom for, 241.
Cubbage, Philip, 202
Cunningham, Captain, War 1812, 314.
Cunningham Island, Lake Erie, British schooner burned on, 326.
Curry, Otway, Ohio author, 268.
Curry, W. L. (Col.), reports Ohio battle flag commission, 227; chairman Committee Ohio battle flags, 229, 238; 396; Civil War historian report to *Society*, 408–409; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Curtis, Jason, secretary Urbana Indian Council, 304.
Curtis, William E., Ohio journalist, 266.
Custer, George A. (Gen.), 243.
Cutawepa, Chief, at Urbana Indian Council, 299.
Cutler, Manasseh, author pamphlet describing Ohio, 187, 203, 204; organizes Ohio Company, 258.
Cuyahoga County, Indian murder trial in, 286.
Cuyahoga, packet vessel, captured by British (1812), 298.
Cuyahoga River, 81.
Cyclone, in Ohio (1812), 315–316.

D.

Dalrymple, Law author, 134.
Dante, Ohio critic of, 272.
Darby, F. H., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419, 420.

Darke County, cyclone in, 315-316.
"Darling Nellie Gray," famous song, 269.
Dartmouth College, Salmon P. Chase student at, 119, 121; early examinations, 122; Bennett Tyler, President of, and Chase at, 123; history of, 129; Chase graduates, 132; 135; sectarian at, 145; 149, 159; graduates among Ohio founders, 259.
Daughters American Revolution, special legislation for, 253; interest in Campus Martius, 254; erect Harrison Memorial, 398; purchase Campus Martius for *Society*, 399.
Dauphin County (Pa.), Ohio pioneers from, 376.
Davis, ———, Massachusetts Congressman, 26.
Davis, Mrs. Theo. F., Campus Martius purchased from, 254, 399.
Dayton, German dropped in schools, 86; attitude of German newspapers, 88; history of, 185; 239; D. A. R. meeting at, 253; 262; home, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, 270; militia in (1812), 287, 288, 292, 294; Col. Johnston sends Indian annuities to, 323; 403.
Dearborn, General, agrees on armistice (1812), 317.
Deavertown, 403.
Declaration of Independence, last surviving signer of, 144; slavery clause deleted, 197, 206.
Defiance, German dropped in schools, 86.
Delaware (state), slavery in, 200; Ohio pioneers from, 391.
Delaware (town), Virginia troops at (1812), 363.
Delawares, Indians, Connolly makes Tory treaty with, 49; neutrality treaty with, in Revolution, 52; at Massassinway council, 304, 307; neutral (1812), 339; join British, 341; at Piqua Indian council, 323; at Council (1812), 354.
Delphos, German dropped in schools, 86.
Democratic Party, 26, 29, 41, 45; editors of, oppose British (1812), 81; 107.
Dennison, Governor, appoints commissioners to Washington, 88; 104.
Denny, James (Maj.), in War 1812, 314, 342.
Department of State gives notice to British aliens (1812), 314-315.
De Pew, Alexander R., letter from, concerning War 1812, 358-359.
DePeyster, A. S. (Maj.), Commandant Detroit and Michilimacinac, 59; 65, 66.
De Quindre, Antoine (Lieut.), attacks Boonesboro, 56.
Der Ohio Sontagsgast, attitude World War, 92, 93, 94.
Desmond, John (Capt.), relics of, presented to *Society*, 402.
Detroit, British post at, 48; 50; western center Toryism, 51; British summoned Indian-Tory Council, 52; Connolly sends letter to, 53; British organize Indians, 54; British headquarters in Revoluton, and Boone taken to, 55; Boonesboro expedition organized at, 56; renegades escape to, 57; Maj. DePeyster commandant at, 60; Bird's Kentucky expedition starts from, 60; 65, 66, 67; center British-Indian influence and Connolly at, 68; Hull's surrender, 286; militia ordered to, 287; U. S. force at (1812), 238; 299; Hull's army reaches, 308; military operations at, 309; express mail to, 313; 314; Hull's surrender, 316, 318; provisions for Hull and surrender of prisoners, 319; 321; soldiers' account of surrender, and Indians' elation over, 322; effect of surrender, 323, 324; attack and surrender of, 325-326; 329; President orders Hull to command at, 330; mail route from Pittsburg, 333; account Hull's surrender, 335; memorandum of arms surrendered, 336; Hull's surrender, 337; Gen. Harrison aims recapture of, 338; Hull's official report on surrender, 339; military trails (1812), 340; American force at, 342, 343; 345; arms surrendered, 346; British purpose siege of, 348; Raisin River expedition returns, 350; provisions in fort at surrender, 351; mingling of American and British officers after surrender, 352; The *Queen Charlotte* at, 355; British move artillery toward Ft. Wayne, 356; 366; on Military Road, 367.
Detroit River, Connolly petitions for land on, 68; 325; British gunboat in (1812), 341; Bradstreet's expedition to, 259; 366.
Dew, President Dartmouth, on slavery, 9, 10.

Dewesew, Chief, Urbana Indian council, 299.
Dickens, Charles, in America, at Cincinnati and opinion of American Newspapers, 72; in Ohio in 1842, 72–81; at Cincinnati levee, 74; visits Columbus, 75; visits Seneca County and references in "American Note," 77; personality described, 78.
Dickey, Judge James, 202.
Dietz, Lena V., presents relics to *Society*, 402.
Dill, Caspar (Rev.), pioneer Lutheran pastor, 386, 387.
"Diplomatic Correspondence," Wharton, 183.
Disciples, The, in Ohio, 209.
"Dixie," author of, 269.
Doane, John M., one time state librarian, 97.
Dockstadert, Nicholas, Mayor of Cleveland, 80.
Donley, James A., builds Ft. Ancient gateway, 404.
Dorchester, Lord, Governor General Canada, 67, 68.
Douglas, James, surveyor, 49.
Douglas, Stephen A., "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine of, 204.
Dover (Delaware), Ohio pioneers from, 391.
Dover, on Military Road, 367.
Dowler, J. W., presents relics to *Society*, 403.
Doyle, Conan, mentioned, 273.
Duck Creek, 369.
Dudgeon, M. S., Secretary Wisconsin Library Commission, 97.
Dudley, Colonel, at siege Ft. Meigs, 282–283.
Dumas, ———, author, 273.
Dunbar, Paul Laurence, Ohio negro poet, 270.
Dunham, Amos, 202.
Dunham, John M. (Dr.), 396; on Ft. Ancient Committee, 404; visits Warren County Serpent Mound, 405; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Dunlap, James (Col.), deserter, Ohio militia (1812). 322, 323, 353.

E

Earthworks, Ulrich group, 162–175; materials found in, 163; clay found in, 165; stages in construction, 168; probable age, 175.
Eastern Orthodox Church, in U. S., 209.
Eaton, Johnson, Secretary of War, partisan President Jackson, 152, 155; threatens Henry Clay, 156.
Eaton, Mrs. " Peggy" (O'Neill), 152, 153; Cabinet women exclude from society, 156.
"Eaton Malaria," The, 156.
Eaton, Starling, Superintendent *Society* Building, 401.
Ebersold, John Christian, German Lutheran pastor, 377.
Eckenrode, H. J., author, "The Revolution in Virginia," 61.
Ecuador, Coggeshall U. S. minister to, 104.
Editorialana, Temperance and Church Building in Pioneer Days, Western Reserve, 251–253.
Education, toast to, Marietta Celebration, 203
Edwards, ———, librarian, Manchester, England, 99.
Edwards, John S. (Col.), 308, 309; commands Ohio Militia (1812), 318.
Edwards, Joseph (Rev.), pioneer preacher Western Reserve, 251.
Edwards, Martha L., "Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War," by, 208.
Eel River Miamis, at Massassinway Council, 304.
Egypt, 260.
Eierman, Rev., pioneer Lutheran minister in Ohio, 379, 382.
Eldorado, Ohio likened to, 257.
Eldridge, Moses, wounded in War 1812, 333
Elephant, skull presented to *Society*, 403.
Elliott, Dartmouth student, friend to Chase, 123, 127, 158.
Elliott, Matthew, Tory, escapes from Ft. Pitt, 57; in expedition against Clark, 64; 65; Superintendent Indian affairs, 67; British grant lands, 69.
Elliott, Wilson (Capt.), in U. S. army (1812), 297, 361.
Elkhorn Creek (Ky.), land surveyed on, 49, 61.
Elson, Henry W., historian, 272.
Ely, E. S. (Dr.), adherent President Jackson, 155, 156.
Elyria, German dropped in schools, 86.
Emancipation Proclamation, drafting of, 278.
Emerick, family of, 380.
Emerson, Mary, 140.
Emerson, Ralph W., author, mentioned, 271, 275.

"Emma," Mississippi steamboat, 206.
Emmett, Daniel Decatur, Ohio song writer, 269, 270.
Emory, Frederick (Capt.), Kansas pro-slavery advocate, 206.
England, Giddings' ancestry from, 5; Weed suggests war with, 36; prayer for royal family, 50; 66, 73, 77; area compared with N. W. Territory, 188; Bishop Chase visits, 121, 132; manufactures, 143; abandons "sea to sea" claims, 183; conquers Ohio country, 256; aroused over Turkish atrocities; 267; 275; John Brough, Sr., native of, 369; 378.
English, flag with French flag at Boonesboro, 56; offers protection to Indians, 58; 81; in Ohio, 263; 331; at Raisin River 366, 391.
Ephesus, city of Asia Minor, 101.
Raisin River, 366; 391.
Episcopalians, war activity at Camp Sherman, and war fund of, 219, 220, 222.
Erie (Pa.), the *Adams* arrives at (1812), 355.
Escheats, Virginia law of, 61.
Este, ———, pioneer Cincinnati lawyer, 121.
Esthonia, mentioned, 86.
Europe, 10, 188; effect of French Revolution on, 189; World War, 250; 273, 344; Col. Webb Hayes in, during War, 416.
Eustis, William, Secretary of War, sends commendatory letter to Gov. Meigs, 342–333; Hull's account of surrender, sent to, 339; 352.
Evangelical Church, German press challenged, during War, 215.
Evans, Nelson W. (Capt.), local historian, 185.
Ewing, Thomas (Ohio Senator), Marietta address 1858, 186–202; on "Squatter Sovereignty," 187, 204; suggests gradual emancipation of slaves, 197, 198; on admission of slave states to Union, 199, 200; 202; quotes Dr. Cutler, 203; on territorial government and French Revolution, Congress of Vienna, and prophecy on "Northwest" population, 204; patron "Coonskin Library," 262; 372.
"Exiles of Florida," Giddings author of, 15.

F.

Fabian, strategy, 245.
Fallen Timbers, battle site, preservation of, 398; *Society's* Standing Committee on, 420.
"Falls of the Ohio," General Clark at, 60; Connolly's lands on, escheated, 61.
Farmers' Castle, at Belpre, 262.
Farmersville, Ulrich mounds near, 162; 165, 167, 175.
Farragut, Admiral, in Civil War, 231, 245.
"Fat Contributor, The," 276.
Fatherland (newspaper), attitude on World War, 93.
"Father of Waters," squadrons on, 245.
Faneuil Hall, disloyal meeting in (1812), 352.
Fangbone, Erwin T., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Fauriel, ——, French historian, quoted, 255.
Fayette County (Ky.), 61.
Fearing, Paul, Washington Co. judge, 370
Federal Council, of churches, 210; Cincinnati activity in, military camps, 219; 221; 223; on relation of church and state, 224.
Federal Creek, 262, 263.
Federalism, Jeffersonians oppose, 106.
Felch, W. Farrard, 396; Secretary Ohio Historical Commission, 401; reports to *Society*, 407; 408, 418.
Fiegler, German clerk of court, 378.
"Fighting McCooks, The," 243.
Filmore, Millard, 8; Cassius Clay refuses support, 33; Coggeshall's life of, 104.
Filson Club Publications, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71.
Filson, John, gives first name to Cincinnati, 260.
Fincastle, Tories propose destruction of, 51; proposed new Virginia County, 54.
Findlay, German dropped in schools, 86.
Findlay, Samuel (Gen.), in War 1812, 288, 291, 294; attempts defense of Detroit, 325; Gen. Hull commends, 345; discusses Raisin River force, 350; opinion of Hull's surrender, 351; 353, 360.
Firearms, presented to *Society*, 403.
Fire Lands, 287.
Fire Lands Historical Society, 251.

Fish Creek, land division of, 69.
Fisher, John A. (Capt.), survivor Mexican War, 230; family of, 380.
Fleming, David, prints first newspaper in Western Reserve, 286.
Fletcher (Salttown), Scottish writer, 102.
Flint, found in earthworks and burials, 163, 169; Flint Ridge. *Society* explores, 401.
Floyd, John (Col.). Tories defeat, 63.
Food Administrator, churches aid during war, 217.
Foote, Commadore, naval commander, Civil War, 231.
Foraker, Joseph B. (Senator), 100, 239, 243; tribute to Ohio battle flags, 248–249.
Forster, ———, author, Dickens' letters to, 72; quoted, 75, 79, 80.
Fort, prehistoric, 167.
Fort Ancient, report of committee to *Society*, 404; 409, 412; *Society's* Committee on, 420.
Fort Ball, Dickens visits, 77.
Fort Benjamin Harrison, 97.
Fort Defiance, General Winchester's troops at (1812), 353; American army at, 356; news letter from, 356–357; Harrison comes to relief of, 358; Indians flee from, 360; 363.
Fort Donaldson, naval battle at, 231, 244.
Fort Donnelly, Indian attack on, 55.
Fort Findlay, Chillicothe volunteers (1812) at, 313.
Fort George, General Hull at, 338, 339.
Fort Harmer, first Ohio settlement near, 259.
Fort Harrison, War 1812, 321.
Fort Henry, Tory–Indian attack, 66; naval battle, 231, 275.
Fort Jennings, American troops at, 360.
Fort Laurens, *Society* Committee on, 418, 420.
Fort Malden (See Malden), American army at, 313.
Fort Meigs, garrison at, 280; siege of, 280, 281, 282; final charge at, 283; preservation of, 398; *Society's* Committee on, 420.
Fort Miami, preservation of, 398; *Society's* Committee on, 420.
Fort Niagara, Tories at, 63.
Fort Pitt, Loyalists at, 48; Dunmore orders seizure, 49; Tories propose destruction, 51; Toryism counteracted, 52; Connolly's letters to, 53; renegades escape, 57; Tory migration to Kentucky, 58; 67, 68.
Fort Randolph, 54.
Fort Sumpter, 233, 242.
Fort Thomas, Cincinnati church interest in, 219.
Fort Washington, 159, 260.
Fort Wagner, attack on, 245.
Fort Wayne (Ind.), Massassinway Indian council near, 304; expected Indian attack, 323; Gen. Worthington's troops to, 324; British–Indian siege, 326, 327; 329; Harrison's march to, 331, 334; 337; Harrison's battle at, 353; Winchester's troops leave, 353, 356; Indians besiege, 353.
Fort Winchester, 363; letter from (1812), 367.
Fortney, J. H. earthworks on farm, explored, 162, 167, 169.
Foster, Charles, 100.
Foster, William (Dr.), gives account Hull's surrender, 335, 345.
Foster, William (Rev.), Ohio pioneer Lutheran missionary, 382, 383, 385, 387.
"Four–Minute Men," work of, during World War, 216.
"Fourth Estate," reference, 264.
Fox's Dock, memorial stone at, 8.
France, slavery in, 2; effect of Revolution on, 189, 204; area compared with N. W. Territory, 188; Second Republic, 204; Ohio "Friends" aid civilian relief, 223; possessor Ohio country, 356, 391.
Franco–Prussian War, 266.
Frankenberg, ——— (Rev.), pioneer Lutheran minister, 389, 392.
Frankfort (Ky.), 358; news note from (1812), 367.
Franklin, battle of, 245.
Franklin, Benjamin, works of, 182, 183; 265, 371.
Franklin County, flags, Ohio Association Union, ex-prisoners of war, 237; Historical Commission of, 408.
Franklinton, 263, 313; Virginia troops at (1812), 361; General Harrison at, 363; headquarters Northwestern Army, 364.
Frankstown (Md.), 375.
Frederick (Md.), 153.
Fredericksburg, battle of, 244.

Frederick City (Md.), Chase visits, 132.
Fredericktown (Md.), Connolly and companions imprisoned at, 52; supplies army (1812), 361.
Free, ———, presents *Society* with stone relics, 403.
Free Soil Party, 31.
"Free State," advocates in Kansas, 206.
Fremont, Dickens visits, 77; 416.
French (See France), 63; Fauriel, historian, quoted, 255; Bradstreet's expedition against, 259; at Raisin River, 366; gas masks presented to *Society*, 402; (Canadians) attack Boonesboro, 55, 56, 57.
French flag, with English at Boonesboro, 56.
French-Indian War, lands granted for service in, 49; McKenzie serves in, 70.
French, Jacob, wounded in War 1812, 333.
French Revoluton, effects on France, 189, 204.
"Friends of German Democracy," patriotic organization, 85; loyalty of, 91.
Friends, (Quakers), war activities, 220, 223.
Fry, A. T. (Capt.), War 1812, 314.
Fugit, Kansas pro-slavery ruffian, 192, 206,
Fulsom, Nathaniel (Rev.), Dartmouth student, 123, 130, 139, 141, 146.
Fulton, Robert, 203.
Funk, Isaac K., author, founder *Literary Digest*, 273.

G

Gage, General, Dunmore sends Connolly to, 51.
Galbreath, Charles B., presides at State Library Centennial, 96; portrait, 96; 97, State Librarian, 100, 110, 111; address Ohio Library Centennial, 112-114.
Gallagher, William G., pioneer Ohio poet, 267, 268.
Gallipolis, 202; military stores, (1812), 328.
Gallatin, tribute to Governor Worthington, 106.
Gard, G. H., 396.
Garden of Eden, Ohio compared to, 256.
Gardiner, R. J. (Mrs.), presents relics to *Society*, 403.
Garfield, James A., Congressman, 12; flag used at funeral, 237; 243, 249; quoted concerning "water-shed barn," 279.
Garrard, ——— (Capt.), commands troops (1812), 329, 358.
Garrett, ——— (Gen.), relieves Ft. Wayne (1812), 327; commands horse troops, 353.
Garrett, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Garretson, George A. (Gen.), Ohio soldier, Spanish War, 232.
Garrison, William Lloyd, stand on slavery, 12; letter to Giddings, 40, 42-44.
Gaston, Judge, 9.
Gates, ———, Dartmouth student, 21, 129.
Gatewood, W. E., presents *Society* stone relics, 403.
Geary, Governor (Kans.), 206.
Gegg, J. B. (Maj.), signs Hull's capitulation, 317.
General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, 221.
General Land Office, established, 106.
"Genius of the West," Coggeshall publishes, 103.
General Wartime Commission, churches during War, 221.
Georgia, "Marching Through," 245.
Georgetown (Ky.), 357.
Gerard, Emma Brough, presents Governor Brough relics, to *Society*, 402.
Gerard, James W., Ambassador, book criticized, 85.
German, language dropped from school courses, 86; pro-slavery boy killed in Kansas, 192; language used in Ohio churches, 210; pastors dismissed during War, 213, 214; language dropped in Ohio churches, 215; churches' attitude during War, 216; colonists, 376; gas masks presented to *Society*, 402; Ohio newspapers, 408.
German (Twp.), Montgomery County, 166.
German-American Alliance, 87.
German Empire, 92.
German-Language Press (Ohio) and the War, 82-95.
German-Methodists, Ohio publications during War, 215.
Germans, patriotic organizations in the War and invasion of Belgium justified, 85; arrested in Ohio, 88; in Ohio, 263, 379; types of, in Perry County, 390; in Civil and World Wars, 395.

German Socialist Weekly, attitude on World War, 83.
Germantown, Lutheran settlement at, 386.
Germantown (Pa.), pioneer printing at, 376.
Germany, 10; ruthless warfare, 250; Lutheran pioneers from, 377; 391.
Gerry, Elbridge, Vice-President, Ohio for (1812), 367.
Gettysburg, battle, Ohio at, 233; 244.
Gibson, John H., (Gen.), 206; Acting Governor Indiana Territory, 321.
Giddings, Joshua Reed, article on, 1; character, 5; portrait, 6; congressman and in War 1812, 7; death, 8; in Congress, 11, 12; Wheeler's estimate of, 13; resigns, 14; political pamphlets, 15; relations to prominent men, 16; correspondence of, 17, 20; Wade's law partner, 18; home and office of, 19; Henry Clay's letter to, 21, 22; Wendell Phillips' letter to, 23, 24, 25; Wilson's letter to, 26, 27-28; Adams' letter to, 30; Greeley's letter concerning Wilmot proviso and Henry Clay, 31, 32; Corwin's letter to, 33, 34; Cassius Clay's letter to, 35; Thurlow Weed's letter to, 36, 37; Chase's letter to, 39; Garrison's letter to, 40-44; death of, 45.
Giessen, (Germany), Lutheran University of, 386.
Gilbert, Adam, earthworks on farm, 166, 175.
Gilmore, General, 243.
Girty, George, renegade, 57; employed by British, 58; leads Wyandots to Kentucky, 59; in expedition against Clark, 64; British grant lands, 69.
Girty, James, renegade, 59, 63, 69.
Girty, Simon, renegade, British grant lands, 49; escapes from Ft. Pitt, 57; 59; Durrett's account of, 64; against Clark, 64; 67; 69.
"Girtys," The, in Kentucky expeditions, 59, 60; Butterfield's history of, 64.
"Gladstone's History," (Kansas Territory), 205.
Glenford, Lutherans at, 389.
Gnadenhutten, 386.
Goethe, German poet, Ohio critic of, 272.
Godfrey, ——— inn-keeper on Military Road, (1812), 367.
Goodbread, Harry L., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419.
Goddard, C. B. (Gen.), 202, 203.
Good Hope, Perry County Lutheran congregation, 388.
Goodlive, Alsatian family, 391.
Goldsmith, Oliver, 100.
Gorget, found in earthworks, 165.
Gracchus, Tiberius, library builder, 112.
Grand Army of Republic, at placing Ohio battle flags, 227; 339, 396.
Grant, Ulysses S., (Gen.), 26; military rank of, 232; 243, 245; at Ft. Donaldson, 244; 249; memoirs of, 272; 277.
"Grapes of Eschol," reference, 258.
Gray, A. N., and J. W., proprietors *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* 81.
Gray, D. S., presents *Society* stone specimens, 403.
Great Britain, War, 1812 with, 107, 295; General Hull accuses, 309; 328.
Great Swamp (Buckeye Lake), 380.
Great War, relics for *Society,* 402; Historical Commission, 407; *Society's* Committee on history of, 420.
Greece, libraries of, 112.
Greeks, Italian colony, 255.
Greeley, Horace, quoted on slavery, 2; 20; choice for President ('48) 26; writes Giddings concerning Wilmot proviso and Clay, 31, 32; member Republican Triumvirate, 36; 40.
Green, Duff, Editor, *U. S. Telegraph,* 146.
Greenbriar River, Donnelly's Fort on, 55.
Greene County, cyclone in, 315-316.
Grenfield (Huron Co.), Presbyterian church, 251.
Greensburg (Pa.), on Military Road, 367.
Greenville, treaty of, 284, 293, 294, 299, 301, 307.
Greertown, Indians at (1812), 293.
Greiner, John, one-time State Librarian, 101; political song writer, 102.
Grenadier Guards, (Queen's), 78.
Grimshaw, author History of U. S., 141.
Griswold, A. Minor, Ohio humorist, 276.
Gross Daytoner Zeitung, quoted and attitude in World War, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94.
Guerriere, frigate, 331.
Gulf of Mexico, 230, 246.
Guy, Mathew, killed War 1812, 326.

H

Hadduck, William I., Emmaline Webster affair, 139, 141.
Hagerstown, Connolly and companions arrested near, 52; 375, 376.

Hagerstown Almanac, 376.
Hagsfeld, (German), 377.
Haldimand, Governor-General (Quebec), 54.
Hall, General, American commander at Niagara, 341.
Hall, ———, Miss, 149.
Halstead, Murat, Ohio journalist, 266.
Hamilton "Deutsch-Amerikaner" suspends publication, 93.
Hamilton, Governor, presents Boone with horse, 54, 55; asks parley of Boone, 56; proposes Kentucky expedition, 57; surrenders and taken prisoner, 59; 244.
Hammond's letters, on slavery, 9.
Hanby, Benjamin Russell, Ohio song writer, 269.
Hanover (N. H.), Dartmouth College at, 122; 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 136, 138, 139, 140, 144, 154.
Harding, Warren G., interested in Great War relics for *Society*, 402.
Harmer, General, erects Fort Washington, 260.
Harmon, Judson (Governor), 239; tribute to Ohio battle flags, 246-248.
Harods Creek (Ky.), 7, 61.
Harpers Ferry, John Brown attacks, 270; furnishes ordnance (1812), 362.
Harper, John L., first Ohio state librarian, 100; enforces "crow-bar law," 101; 112.
Harpers Magazine, account of J. J. Piatt in, 268.
Harpers "Memoirs of Slavery," 9, 10.
Harris, Andrew (Gov.), 243.
Harrisburg (Pa.), 376.
Harrison, Benjamin (President), quoted, 241; 243, 249.
Harrison, William Henry, (Gen.), "campaign" 1840, 102; 263, 263; siege Ft. Meigs, 280, 282; personality, 284; Tecumseh refers to, 305; 308; appointed Major, Kentucky volunteers, 324; proclamation from Piqua, 326, 327; force of (1812), 329; 330; forced to march to Ft. Wayne and news from, 331; 332; army reaches Ft. Wayne, 334, 337; encamps at St. Marys, 338; marches to Ft. Defiance, 353; at Ft. Wayne and Detroit, 355; Commander-in-Chief of army, 356; army of, and quoted, 357; Detroit march reported, 358; reaches Ft. Defiance, and relief of, 359, 360; returns to
Harrison, William Henry — Concluded. Franklinton, 363; uses Indian spies, 367; 372; memorial to, and committee on, 397, 398.
Harrodsburg (Ky.), 50; Kentucky University at, 71.
Harsh, W. E. (Rev.), Perry County Lutheran pastor, 392.
Hart, Elmer, *Society* binder, 401.
Hartford (Ct.), 127.
Harvard, University, graduates among Ohio founders, 259, 262.
Haverhill (N. H.), 123.
Hawley, ——— (Rev. Dr.), 132, 133.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, writes preface to "Baconian Theory" book, 275.
Hayes Memorial Building, 410, 412.
Hayes, Richard (Col.), commands militia (1812), 318.
Hayes, Rutherford B., 100; interested in State Library, 110; 243, 249.
Hayes, Webb C., (Col.), 396; returns from Europe, 416; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Haymarket Theater, 75.
Haynes, Charles M., donates electrotypes to *Society*, and life member of, 402, 419.
Hayward, ——— (Judge), marries daughter, Judge McLean, 159, 202, 203.
Hazelip, James (Capt.), Ohio militia (1812), 322.
Hazen, General, 243.
Hebron, Palestine, 258.
Heckewelder, John (Rev.), Col. Broadhead writes concerning Tory migration, 58.
Heer, Fred J., reprints *Quarterlies*, 397.
Hegler, Almer, presents relics to *Society*, 403; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419.
Henderson, J. M. (Dr.), 396; on *Society's* Committees, 417, 419.
Henderson, Richard (Judge), Head Transylvania Company, 51.
Hening, ———, *Statutes*, 54, 61, 62.
Henkel, Andrew, pioneer Lutheran missionary, 385; at organization Ohio Lutheranism, and ability of, 387; 388, 391, 393.
Henkel, Charles, place in Perry County Lutheranism, 387, 388, 389, 392.
Henkel, family of Lutheran preachers, 385.
Henkel, Paul, Journal of, 385, at organization of Ohio Lutheranism, 386.

Henry, Alfred, Ohio journalist, 266.
Henry County, pro-German pastor dismissed, 214.
Henry, Patrick, opinion on Cornstalk murder, 55.
Herbst, Edward (Dr.), presents relics to *Society*, 403.
Herrick, ———, Dartmouth student, 141, 143.
Herrick, Myron T. (Gov.), 239; tribute to Ohio battle flags, 249–250.
Hesse (Ont.), District of, 69.
Hessen-Darmstadt, Lutheran University in, 386.
Higby, Joseph B., early conductor, Mad River Road, 77, 78.
Highland County, 202.
Hildreth, Richard, historian, 178.
Hildreth, Samuel P., pioneer Ohio historian, 180.
Hill, Isaac, editor, 152.
Hillman, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, (1812), 367.
Hills, D. T., 396; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419.
Hinkle, Fred, 396; congratulates *Society*, 406.
Hinsdale, B. A., Ohio historian, 182, 183.
Hinton, Guy, soldier 1812, killed, 357.
Historical Commission of Ohio, appointment, purpose, report of, 407.
Historical sites, *Society* Committee on, 419.
Historiography, development of, 176.
History, Salmon P. Chase on, 140; Grimshaw's, of U. S., 141; Ohio writers of, 272.
Hoadly, George (Gov.), 100.
Hockett, Homer C., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419, 420.
Hocking County, Lutheranism in, 387, 392.
Hocking River, Lutherans in valley of, 385; pioneer Germans on, 391.
Hodges, N. D. C., Cincinnati Librarian, 97.
Hohenzollerns, 89.
Holder, John (Col.), defeated by Tory-Indians, 64.
Holmes, ——— Dartmouth student, 123, 139, 141.
Holmes County, war attitude of Mennonites in, 216.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, mentioned, 272; quoted, 394.
Holt House, Dickens visits in Seneca County, 77.
Hood, Walter C., one-time State Librarian, 99.
Hooker, General, 244.
Hopewell, (Tp.) Perry County, 381, 388; wolf hunt in, 393.
Hopkins, ——— (Gen.), commands troops against Wabash Indians, 329.
Hopkinton, village, 135, 139.
Hoppe, ——— (Rev.), killed in Kansas slavery contest, 206.
Hopple, ———, Speaker Ohio House of Representatives, 240.
Hough, B. W., Adjutant General of Ohio, 229.
Hough, Charles H., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
House of Commons, 264.
Howard, ——— (Dr.), marries Chase's relative, 159.
Howe, Henry, Ohio historical writer, 179, 180, 182, 272.
Howe, ———, (Prof.), 140.
Howells, William Dean, home at Jefferson, 18; editor *Ohio State Journal*, 265; collaborates with Piatt, 268; tribute to Piatt, 269; scope of writing, 272; tribute to Paul Laurence Dunbar, 270.
Hoy's Station, Tory attack on, 64.
"Hubb," Boston, 258.
Hudson, ———, Massachusetts Congressional candidate, 26.
Hudson River, first steamboat on, 203.
Huet, ——— Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 387.
Hughes, Charles, member Ohio battle flag committee, 238.
Hulbert, Archer B., Ohio historical writer, 272.
Hull, ———, (Capt.), *Constitution*, 330.
Hull, ——— (Nephew to Gen. Hull), 330.
Hull, General, in War 1812, 7; surrender of, 286; commands Ohio militia, 288; Gov. Meigs pays tribute, 289; addresses Ohio militia, 289-291; at Camp Meigs, 292; at Urbana Indian Council, 296; army supply captured, 299; 300, 302, 304; reaches Detroit, 308; proclamation of, 309-311; letter to Gov. Meigs, 311; Winchester reinforces, 313; surrenders, 316; signs capitulation, 317; accused of treason, 318; effect of surrender, 318; criticism of, 319, 320; treachery of, 321; description of surrender, 322, 325-326; Brock's proclamation after surrender of, 327; Gov. Meigs

Hull, General—Concluded.
accused of complicity with, 330; prisoner of Montreal, 331; account of surrender, 335; memorandum of arms surrendered, 336; builds fort below Detroit, 342; official report of surrender, 338-345; Col. Cass's account of surrender, 346; orders retreat at Detroit, 349; estimates munitions at Detroit, and orders return of Raisin River expedition, 350; disgrace of surrender, 351; assigns reason for surrender, 351-352; 366; Governor Michigan Territory, 289.
Hull's Road, construction of, 296.
Humane Society, founder of, 273.
Humberger, family of, 380.
Humberger, Henry, organ builder, 384.
Hume, historian, 263.
Huntington, Gwynne, (Mrs.), presents *Society* Civil War relic, 403.
Huron, German pastor exonerated in War, 214; letter from (1812), 308; 327; General Harrison at, 360, 363; 365; on Military Road, 367.
Huron County, Presbyterian church in, 251; Indians murder whites in, 286; 297; Wadsworth militia in (1812), 321; Indian engagements and military camp in, (1812), 333.
Huron Indians, in Revolution, 63.
Huron River, block house on (1812), 322; 341.
Hutchins, Ohio congressman, 12.
Hutchins, ———, Dartmouth student, 127, 129, 139, 140.
Hutt, William S., soldier 1812, letter of, 338.
Hyde Park (London), 80.

I.

Illinois, 14; Indians sent to, in Revolutionary War, 60; cattle king of, 393.
Illinois River, Kaskaskia, 51.
Illustrations —
Beads found in prehistoric burials, 171.
Campus Martius. Marietta, 254.
Chalcedony spear point, 164.
Coggeshall, W. T., 104.
Copper axe found in prehistoric burials, 173.
Copper breast-plate found in mounds, 174.
Galbreath, Charles B., 96.
Giddings' home and office, 19.
Illustrations—Concluded.
Giddings, Joshua R., 6.
Gorget, 166.
Taylor, James W., 113.
Independent Chronicle, newspaper in Revolutionary War, 265.
Indiana, 97, 114; war attitude of Mennonites in, 216.
Indians, in War (1812), 7; Tory influence on, 48, 49; Tories ask aid from, 51; Tories undermine neutrality of western tribes, 53; attack Boonesboro, 54, 56, 57; British influence and offer protection, 57, 58; attack Col. Rogers' force, 59; in Bird's Kentucky expedition and sent to Illinois in Revolution, 60; 61, 63; aid Tories, 63, 64; ambuscade Kentuckians, 65; attack Ft. Henry and Kentucky expedition, 66; 67; British influence, 68; Dickens refers to, 77; John Greiner agent to, 102; Senator Worthington on Senate Committee, 106; 160; fortified village of, 167; 199; in Ohio, 256; capture Thomas Morris, 259; capture John Filson, 260; Ohio wars with, 261, 375; at siege Ft. Meigs, 280, 281, 282-283; emphasis of, in Ohio history, 183; murder whites, Huron County, 296; offer lands for release of captives, 287; executed at Cleveland, 296; at Urbana Council, and at Massassinway Council, 299-304; in Britsh army (1812), 308, 339, 341; at Michilimacinac, 313, 341; at Malden, 320; 321, 322; at Piqua Council, 323, 337; threaten Ft. Wayne, 324; at Detroit, 325, 343; 344; 324; at Ft. Wayne, 326, 327, 331, 332, 355, 356; attack in Huron County, 333; 334; at Hull's surrender, 337; friendly and neutral, 335, 340, 367; 343; at Ft. Defiance, 353, 359; council with, 354-355; Wabash town destroyed, 358; at Maumee Rapids, 363, 364; 366; relics and silver found in graves, 403; Wars (1790-95), 178.
Indies (East), 186.
Industrial Workers of the World, 88.
Infantry, Ohio battle flags and regiments of Spanish War, 238.
Internal Improvements, Gov. Worthington on, 106.
Ipswich, (Mass.), Chase visits, 154.
Ireland, 295.

Irwin, German dropped in Schools of, 86.
Italy, "pretzels" originated in, 87; Greek colony in, 255.

J.

Jack, James, wounded in War (1812), 333.
Jackson, Andrew, supporters of, 143; 145; newspapers for, 146; Chase's opinion of, 151, 152; Eaton scandal and gossip, 152, 155, 156; 372.
Jackson, Francis, 23.
Jackson, Stonewall, 244.
Jackson (Twp. Montgomery Co.), Ulrich mounds in, 162, 167.
Jacksonianism, 135.
Jagow, Von ———, reference to, 85.
James River (Va.), 66.
Jamestown Exposition, 263.
Jay, John, in Paris Treaty, 183.
Jefferson County, Lutheranism in, 386; (Ky.), 61.
Jefferson, Giddings' home and burial place, 8, 17; home of Benjamin Wade and William Dean Howells, 18; 38.
Jefferson, Thomas, 10; on slavery, 11, 207; Giddings quotes, 15; aids Ohio's admission, 106; "Notes on Virginia," 177; slavery clause in Declaration of Independence, 197, 206, 207; Parton's "Life of," 207.
Jeffersonianism, opposes U. S. Bank, 101; 106.
Jena, battle of, 391.
Jenkinson, ——— (Maj.), commands Ohio troops (1812), 353.
Jennings, ———, commands troops, (1812), 329.
Jessup, ——— (Maj.), at Detroit surrender, 345.
Jewish, Church in U. S., 209; Welfare Board, 218, 221.
Jews (See Judaism), at Camp Sherman, 220; during World War, 222, 223.
Johnson's Island, (Lake Erie), 8.
Johnson, Richard M., commands Kentucky troops (1812), 359.
Johnson, Samuel, 263.
Johnston, ——— (Col.), brother at Ft. Wayne, 323.
Johnston, John, in War (1812), 295.
Johnston, Joseph E., 245.
Johnston, William, Indian agent at Piqua Council, 323.
Jonathan Creek (Perry Co.), 380.
Jones, Howard (Mrs. Dr.), on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Jones, Lulie (Miss), presents relics to *Society*, 403.
Jones, Olive (Miss), Librarian, Ohio State University, 98; address Ohio State Library Association, 109–112.
Jones, Paul, naval hero, 231.
Josephinum Weekly (German), mail privileges forbidden, 215.
Journalism, in Ohio, 264–267.
Judaism, (See Jews), non-Zionist, in Cincinnati, 223.
Judson, Edward (Ned Buntline), Ohio novelist, 274.
Julian, George W., biographer of Giddings, 16.
"July Fourth," first celebration in Ohio, 267.
Junction City, Lutheran congregation at, 388; Reformed Church at, 389.
Junkers, reference, 89, 92.
Jupiter, 159.
Justice, C. W., 396; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.

K.

Kansas, Territory organized, 191, 192; effect of "squatter sovereignty," 192; 195, 199; slavery struggle, 204; vigilance committees, 205; Governor Geary's administration, 206; legislature approves treatment of William Phillips in slavery case, 205.
Kansas–Nebraska Bill, 191; workings of, 192; 204, 205.
Kaskaskia, Tories expect aid from, 51; British fort, 53, 58.
Keene, (N. H.), 120, 121, 124, 127, 139, 140.
Keifer, J. Warren (Gen.), presides at placing Ohio battle flags, 229; military services of, 232; 243; "Memoirs" of, 272.
Kellogg, ———, author of Ohio Valley history, 49, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63.
Kelly, Alfred, Ohio canal promoter, 107.
Kelso, ——— (Gen.), War (1812), 353.
Kendrick, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Kennan, George, Ohio journalist, 266, 267.
Kent, Chancellor, 9.
Kent, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Kentuckians, renounce allegiance to U. S., 56; in Revolutionary War, 60; in Shawnee expedition, 63; resist Tory invaders, 65; in Clark expedition, 66; attitude toward British protectorate, 67; in War (1812), 357.

Kentucky, Tory land proprietors, 48-71; Girty granted lands in, 49; Browster (Tory) buys land in, 50; Indians during Revolutionary War, 53, 57; Tory migration and success in, 58, 59; Girty expedition to, 59; settlements destroyed in Revolution, 60; Tory lands escheated, 61, 62; Indian attacks (1780), 63, 66; 64; British protectorate proposed, 67; "Butler's History" of, 68; escheated Tory lands given to Seminary, 69; charter granted for academy, 70; Agricultural and Mechanical College of, 71; growth of population, 195; Civil War campaigns in, 245; Ohio pioneers from, 264; 277; militia at Ft. Meigs and in War (1812), 237, 282, 313, 321, 324, 326, 327, 329, 353, 359; Zane's Trace, 375.
Kentucky County, organized, 54; John Bowman, Lieutenant of, 59; Tory lands given for education, 61.
Kentucky Gazette, 69.
Kentucky River, 50; Tory-Indian spies sent to, 52; McClelland's Station on, 53; Boonesboro on, 57.
Kentucky University, 71.
Kentucky Valley, Tories in, 51.
Kenyon College, founding of, 132.
Kerr, ——— (Gen.), 360.
Kettering, F. C., presents fire-arms to *Society*, 403.
Kickapoo Indians, at Massassinway Council, 307, 308; at Piqua Council, 323; 354.
Kilbourn, James, Ohio pioneer, editor, 265; James (Col.), death of, 418.
Kimball, Caleb, 124, 131.
"King Dagon," name applied to President Jackson, 150.
King, Rufus, Ohio historian, 183, 272.
Kingston (Can.), 338.
Kinkead, R. G., 396.
Kinney, Coates, Ohio poet, 104, 269, 279.
Kirtland, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road (1812), 367.
Kitekishemo, Chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Knickerbocker, mentioned, 257, 263.
Knights of Columbus, War activities, 218, 223, 407.
Knights of Pythias, memorial service at Serpent Mount, 405.
Kochensparger, Alsatian pioneer family, 391.
Kossuth, Louis (Gen.), Hungarian patriot in America, 104.
Kylon, Greece, mentioned, 256.

L

La Belle Riviere, French name for Ohio River, 161.
La Fayette, General, observation on Ohio, 255-256.
La French River (Can.), 341.
Lake Erie, Connolly's land grant on, 69; 77; Dickens mentions, 78, 79; 80, 204, 257; Bradstreet's Expedition to, 259; 278; patrolled War (1812), 297, 298; 326; British control, 340; Brownstown on, 366.
Lake Erie College, 208.
Lake Michigan, Indians from (1812), 324.
Lake Superior, Indians from (1812), 339.
Lakes (Upper), 60.
Lakewood, German dropped from schools, 86.
Lamb, ———, Boston resident, 158.
Lancaster, German dropped from schools, 86; Indians shoot man near, 293, 372; Lutheranism in, 387.
Lancaster Journal, quoted, 295.
"Land of Promise," 258.
Lands, public, Worthington on, 106.
Landsittel, F. C. (Prof.), presents *Society* with Campus Martius table, 402.
Lane, W. P., interested in mound explorations, 175.
Lane Theological Seminary, 270.
Langham, Captain, commands troops (1812), 327.
Lapham, Julia, presents family photographs to *Society*, 403.
La Plata River, 186.
La Tranche River, Tory lands granted on, 69.
Lautenschlaeger, C. J. (Rev.), Lutheran pastor, 390.
Laylin, Lewis C. (Mrs.), special legislation for D. A. R., by, 253.
Leavenworth (Kans.), mob rule in, 192, 205; treatment of William Phillips, abolitionist, 205, 206.
Lebanon, (O.), home of Thomas Corwin, 29; 33; name of Perry County Lutheran congregation, 388, 389, 392.
Lecompton Constitution, 41.
Lee, ———, wounded War (1812), 333.
Lee, Robert E. (Gen.), 244, 245.
Leftwich, General, commands troops (1812), 361.

Legislature, Reference Department, 111; provides placing of Ohio battle flags, 225, 226; provides for printing of *Society Quarterly,* 397; resolution for Campus Martius, 400; appropriations for *Society,* 413-415.
Leipsig, battle of, 391.
Leist, Jacob (Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 385, 386.
Leonard, Governor, suggested for Presidency, 26.
Lernoult, Captain, Commandant at Detroit, 53.
Lewis ——, Federal Auditor, in Jackson administration, 156.
Lewis, Alfred Henry, Ohio journalist, 266, 271.
Lewis, Chief, at Urbana Council, 299; answers Gov. Meigs, 303-304; spy for Americans, 367.
Lewis, Colonel, commands troops (1812), 329, 358.
Lewis, William E., Ohio journalist, 266.
Lexington, battle of, 50, 257.
Lexington (Ky.), Tory lands escheated near, 61; 62, 68, 69; Transylvania Land Company at, 70; University moved to, 71; news-letter from (1812), 356-357; troops from (1812), 358.
Liberator, The, 40.
Liberty, Ohio militia muster (1812) at, 314; on Military Road, 367.
"Liberty Cabbage," 86.
"Liberty Loan," Ohio German newspapers on, 89, 95; churches active in campaign, 217.
Liberty Party, 119; Ohio furnishes Presidential candidate for, 270.
Liberty (Twp., Trumbull Co.), 322.
Libraries, 7; ancient, 112; free, in America, and growth of, and pioneer in Ohio, 113; university, in Ohio, and war demands on, 114; first in Ohio, 262.
Library, Society's, Standing Committee on, 419.
Lichnowsky, Prince, revelations of, 85; German press disillusioned by, 91.
Licking River (Ky.), Bird's expedition to, 60; 63; Indian ambuscade on, 65; Clark's expedition, 66; 260.
Liggett, D. A. (Hon.), Foraker's letter to, concerning Ohio battle flags, 248-249.
Liggett, Ensign, Indians kill (1812), 356, 357.
Limburger (cheese), Belgian origin, 87.
Lincoln, Abraham, 8; in Congress, 14, 15; Chase in Cabinet of, 38; Sumner friend of, 45; Emancipation Proclamation by, 47; Coggeshall's book on, 104; appreciates humor of Petroleum V. Nasby, 277; enjoys "Artemus Ward," 278; Governor Brough supports, 373.
Lindsley, —— Dr., fiance Miss Webster (Daniel), 142, 145.
Linn, L. B., editor, 202.
Little Muskingum River, 371.
Little Turtle, Chief, 256.
Lloyd, John Uri, Ohio author, 273.
"Lochinvar," 269.
Locke, David Ross (Petroleum V. Nasby), 276-277.
Logan, (town), 392.
Logan, John, Chief, 256; monument to, 397, 406.
Logan, Indian, Chief, with British, 340; in War (1812), 367; killed, 368.
Logan, Colonel, expedition against Shawnees, 62; 63.
Logan County, Indian town in, 64.
Logan Elm Park, 397; report on, to *Society,* 406; 409, 412; *Society's* committee on, 420.
Logan Station, Boone's treason trial at, 57.
"Log Cabin Campaign," 280.
London, 66, 274; "Baconian Theory" published in, 275; "Artemus Ward" in, 277.
London News, 266.
Long, Byron R., "Joshua Reed Giddings" by, 1; member Ft. Laurens committee, 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419-420.
Lookout Mountains, battle, Ohio at, 233.
Loomis, T. B., one-time State Librarian, 97.
Loraine Post, suspends publication, 93.
Lord, Captain, commandant Kaskaskia, 53.
Losantiville, origin of name, 260.
Loschert, ——, 77.
Louisiana, Spanish power in, 67.
Louisville (Ky.), 48, 49, 54, 60; centenary of, 62; 63; Connolly visits, 67; headquarters Kentucky troops, War 1812, 329.
Louisville, Federal gun-boat, Civil War, 231.
Louisville Journal, article concerning Harrison, campaign (1840), 284.

Lowe, General, 243.
Lowell, James Russell, 269
Loyalists (See Tory and Tories), 51; Transylvania petitions against, 54; Boone accused of being one, 55; land interests in Kentucky, 57; attempt to regain Pittsburg region, 58, 60; influence in Kentucky, 61, 62; lands confiscated in Virginia, 61; leadership of, 63; attack Ft. Henry, 66; settle near Detroit, 68; 70.
Lucas, Robert, Governor of Ohio, 372.
Lutherans, in Ohio, 209; attempt to unite, 210; challenge German press during War, 215; at Camp Sherman, 220; first in Perry County, 375; first service in Perry County, 379; first service in Ohio, 381; description of pioneer service, 381; zeal of, and in Ohio Valley, 382; first Ohio congregation, 283; Henkel family of preachers, 385; organization of Ohio Synod, 385, 388; University at Giessen, 386; joint organization with Reformed Church, 388, 389, 390; Columbus Seminary, 389; Alsatian, 392, anecdotal side in Perry County, 393; character of, 394, 395; quadri-centenary of, 395.
Lycurgus, mentioned, 201.
Lyons, ———, messenger War (1812), 314.
Lythe, John (Rev.), Anglican pastor, Harrodsburg, Ky., 50.
Lytle, William Haines (Gen.), Ohio poet, 243, 269.

M

McAdoo, William G., 95.
McArthur, Duncan (Col.), commander War (1812), 292; 294; moves troops into Indian country, 296; regiment of, 313; at Hull's surrender, 316; refuses to surrender at Detroit, 317; 318; at Malden, 320; merits of, 320; at Detroit surrender, 325, 337, 345; memoranda of arms at Detroit surrender, 336; on the Raisin, 342; 343, 344; reports on Hull's surrender, 346; ordered to Raisin River, 348; opinion of Hull's surrender, 351.
McCleary, Clayton A., State Library Commissioner, 98, 112.
McClellan, George B. (Gen.), at Antietam, 244.
McClelland's Station, abandoned, 53.
McConnelsville, 203; *Enquirer*, 202; *Herald*, 202.
McCooks, The "Fighting", 243, 385.
McCoy, Alexander, American soldier killed, (1812), 357.
McCracken, H. W., presents *Society* with archaeological specimens, 403.
McCracken, Virgil (Capt.), War 1812, 357.
McDonnel, J., signs Hull's capitulation, 316.
McDowell, General, 243.
McGahan, Januarius A., Ohio journalist, 266, 267.
McGraw, C. A., editor, 202.
McGrew, J. F., trustee Ohio State Library, 110.
McDuffie, ———, 9.
McKee, Alexander (Capt.), receives land for services in French-Indian War, 49: Connolly's letter to, at Ft. Pitt, 53; escapes from Ft. Pitt, 57; in Bird's expedition, 60; lands given to Seminary, 61; 62; attacks Boone's Station, 63; in expedition against Clark, 64; 65, 66; Superintendent Indian Department, 67; escheated lands for university, 69; member Canadian Land Board, 69.
McKenzie, Robert, lands of, escheated and used for university, 61, 69.
McKenzie, William, petitions for compensation, escheated lands, 69, 70.
McKinley, Romaine (Mrs.), presents specimens to *Society*, 403.
McKinley, William, 100, 243, 249.
McLean, Elizabeth, daughter of Judge McLean, 159.
McLean, John (Judge), famous Ohio jurist, 159.
McMahon, John, wounded in War 1812, 333.
McMasters, John Bach, historian, quoted, 260.
McMillan, ——— (Gen.), 244; ——— (Mr.), *Society* employe, 401.
McPherson, John B. (Gen.), 243.
Madison, James, opposes slavery, 207; Ohio votes for, (1812), 367; Kentucky county, 31; Wisconsin city, 49, 52, 58; home of, 239.
Mad River, Ohio troops (1812), on, 287; Camp Meigs on, 292; Rail Road, pioneer, 77.
Magazine, of American History, 64; "The Genius of the West," 103.
Maguago (town), 341; battle at (1812), 342.

Maine, 277.
Malden (Can.), British force at, 280, 308; 298, 299; Americans fail to capture, 320; 330; British at, 337; Harrison aims to recapture, 338; failure to attack, 346; *The Adams* (boat), 355; 366; Canadian township, Loyalists granted lands in, 69.
Manahan, Chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Manary, block house (1812), 296, 353; Ohio troops at, 359, 560.
Manchester, (England), 99; (Ohio), 263.
Manitoba, forest and fruit culture in, 103.
Manlius, (N. Y.), 251.
Mann, E. G. (Prof.), presents *Society* relics, 403; Samuel, wounded in War (1812), 333.
Mannheim, (Germany), 378.
Manning, Charles, Perry County pioneer, 391; James (Rev.), pioneer Lutheran pastor, 391, 392.
Mansfield, German dropped in schools, 86; 319; Pennsylvania troops at (1812), 363; ——— (Capt.), commands troops (1812), 294; E. D., Ohio journalist, 266.
Manufacturer, legislation pertaining to, 143.
Marblehead, peninsula, British-Indian attack, 7, 8.
March, J. H., on Piqua Indian Council, 324.
"March to the Sea," 245.
Marietta, 99; Ewing's address (1858), 186-202; "National House" at, 202; Campus Martius purchased, 253, 254; prehistoric earthworks at, 259; early days in and first school, 261; settlements near, 262; first, "Fourth of July" at, 267; 311; birthplace Gov. Brough, 369; old court house at, 369; Sumer's History of, 370; Gov. Brough's loyal speech at, 373; Campus Martius, 399; Founders' Celebration (1858), 186-202; toasts delivered at Celebration, 202, 203; college at, 203.
Marpot, Indian chief, 340.
Marshall, John, 9; author "Life of Washington," 140, 141, 263; Thomas (Col.), Connolly proposes British plans to, 68; 69.
Martinsburg (Va.), 265.
Martin Station, surrender of, 60; retaliation for capture of, 62.
Martzolff, Alsatian family, 391; Clement L., (Prof.), edits Ewing's Marietta address, 186; referred to, 272; author "Lutheranism in Perry County, Ohio," 375.
Maryland, 142; S. P. Chase admitted to bar in, 158; Ohio pioneers from, 264, 371, 375; Germans in, 390.
Marysville, German dropped in schools, 86; 403.
Mason, ———, killed in War (1812), 333; Alexander, 8.
Massachusetts, Giddings family in, 5; Anti-slavery Society, 23; early history, 180; Ohio pioneers from, 263; disloyal convention (1812), 352.
Massassinway, Indian council, report of, 304-308.
Massie, Nathaniel, 10½ effigy pipe from farm of, 403.
Mathame, Indian chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Mather, Cotton, author and ecclesiast, 140.
Mathew, Father, temperance advocate, 73; W. S., Foraker's letter concerning Ohio battle flags, 248.
Maumee, (town) American troops at (1812), 360; "Rapids" of, 357; Tupper's expedition to, 364; 366; on Military Road, 367; Indian spies at, 368.
Maumee River. Thomas Morris escapes to, 259; 296; (See Miami of the Lakes), 319; road along, 333; Wayne's route, 356; British artillery, 359; British and Indians at, 363; Wayne's victory on, 375; Ft. Miami on, 398.
Maumee Valley Historical Society, 398.
Maxwell, William, first Ohio editor, 264.
Mayberry, ———, 202.
"Mayflower," second, brings Ohio founders, 259.
Meadville (Pa.), 335.
"Meadow Brook," 8.
Mechling, family of, 300; Jacob, Perry County pioner, 393.
Medary, Samuel, Ohio journalist, 266.
Medill, William, Governor of Ohio, 102.
Meek, Basil (Hon.), author "History Sandusky County," 77.
Meigs, Camp, 287.
Return J., (Gov.), 106; first Ohio poet, 267; militia to Gen. Hull, 287; petitioned to pardon Indians for murder, 287; complimented (1812),

Meigs, Camp—Concluded.
288; addresses Ohio militia, 289; at Urbana Indian Council, 295; address at Urbana Council, 299–301; 304; Hull's letter to, 311; 313; at Piqua Indian Council, 323; provides more men to defend frontier, 324, 328; accused of complicity in Hull's surrender, 330; War Department commends, 332–333; Perkins' letter to, from Huron County, 333; letter to Gen. Van Horn, 334–335; 337; apprised of Detroit situation, 348; 353; Commissioner to Indians, 355; dispatch from military camp, 359.

Mennonites, in Ohio, 209; opposition to war, 215, 216.

Mercer County (Ky.), 71.

Merrill, Julia W., Cincinnati Librarian, 98; at Ohio State Library Centennial, 112.

Methodists, Centenary increases *Museum* visitors, 44; Ohio churches, 209; 210; pro-German college president, 214; German eliminated from Ohio Press, 215; pioneer, 392.

Metzger, Charles, presents *Society* with archaeological specimens, 403.

Mexican War, Giddings opposes, 5; redeeming features of, 36; Veterans Association of, 227; Ohio in, 230; survivors, 230; territory gained by, 230; 232; Ohio battle flags of, 237; General Morgan veteran of, 343.

Mexico, Thomas Corwin minister to, 33; Gulf of, 279.

Miami (Indians), and Tories, 63; at Massassinway Council, 304; 307; at Piqua Council, 323; towns of, destroyed, 331, 332; attack near Ft. Wayne, 334; neutral, 339:
'Of the Lake" (River), 296 (See Maumee), Kentucky militia at, (1812), 321; British flag on, 324; Western Reserve Road from, 333; 342; 360; *River, (Great)*, Bird's expedition at, 60; Connolly travels on, 67; 68; Clark destroys towns on, 66; Lutherans on, 385; pioneer Germans on, 391,
(Little), Chillicothe on, 55; Bowman's expedition to, 59:
Swamp, 366:
University, library of, 114; 176; provisions for, 258.

Michigan, 97, 203; Gen. Hull Governor of, 300; Brock's proclamation to citizens, 327; volunteers from (1812), 338; 339, 344; militia at Detroit, 349, 350; 366:
Territory, included in Hull's surrender, 316; military stores for, 328.

Michillimackinac, 60; British capture, 313; surrender of, 339; effect of surrender, 341.

Middleboro, 139.

Milford Center, German dropped from schools, 86.

Military Road, 366; settlements on, 366: Survey, (Ky.), 61.

Miller, Charles R. (Maj.), Spanish War member Ohio Battle Flag Commission, 238:
James (Col.), signs Hull's capitulation, 317; wishes to defend Detroit, 325; commands troops (1812), 329; at Detroit, 342; 345; on Hull's surrender, 351; supplies troops, 362:
O. F., on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.

Mills, D. C. (Dr.), interested in mound exploration, 175:
Joshua (Dr.), one-time Mayor of Cleveland, 80:
———, Miss, *Society* Librarian, 418:
Truman B., "Ulrich Group of Mounds," by, 162–175:
William B., life member of *Society*, 419:
William C., 175, 396; lectures on Ohio archaeology, 401; attends Association of Museums, 402; on Serpent Mound Committee, 405; 417; on *Society's* Membership Committee, 417; reports on *Society* Library, 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419–420.

Milton, John, "Paradise Lose," in State Library, 105.

Minerva, Cincinnati described as, 159, 261.

Mingo (Indians), Tory treated with, 49; Connolly's Tory Conference with, 52; neutrality treaty with, in Revolution, 52; at Urbana Council, 296, 299, 302, 354.

Mingus, Daniel, 8; killed War (1812), 333.

Minnesota, 103.

Minor's Encyclopedia, 263.

Minster Post, 95.

Mission Ridge, battle, 232, 245.

Mississippi, 195; Indians from, War (1812), 339:
River, 53; Ohio Indians removed beyond, 77; blockade threatened by pro-slavery advocates, 199; 246:
Squadron, in Civil War, 231, 245:
Territory, slavery in, 191; population, 195.
Missouri, slavery in, 196, 200; slavery advocates go to Kansas, 205, 206; river, 186.
Mitchell, General, 244; soldier named, killed, War (1812), 351.
Mobile Bay, battle, 245.
Mohammedans, destroy libraries, 112; Bulgarian atrocities, 267.
Mohawk Indians, in Revolutionary War, 52.
Mohican River, source of, 278.
Molino del Rey, battle, Ohio at, 230.
Mondaycreek (Tp., Perry County), 389; Lutherans in, 390.
Monterey, battle of, Ohio in, 230.
Montgomery, General, 230:
County: "Ulrich Mounds" in, 162; terrific cyclone in, 315-316; Lutherans in, 386.
Montreal, 45; Gen. Hull prisoner at, 337; Hull sends letter from, 338.
Moore, Waldo C., 396; on Ft. Ancient Committee, 404; *Society* Trustee, 418; on *Society's* committees, 420.
Moravians, in Ohio, 203; Trail of, 386.
Morgan, George W. (Gen.), 58, 243; County, 202.
Morris, Thomas, Indian scout, 259; Thomas, Ohio Senator, 372; Walter B., presents military badges to *Society*, 403.
Morrow (town), 403; Jeremiah, local historian, 185; Governor J., welcomes Lafayette and Commissioner to Indiana, 255, 324, 355.
Moses, sends spies, 258; 259.
Mound Builders, 167, 256; at Marietta, 259.
Mounds, "Ulrich Group," 162-175; burial types, 168; stages in construction, 168.
Mount Vernon, Indians at, (1812), 293.
Muehlon, ——— (Dr.), German revelation made by, 91.
Munger, General, Major Wolverton's letter to, 295.
Munsee, Indians, join British, 341.
Munson, ——— (Col.), organizes militia (1812), at Zanesville, 293.
Murdock, James E., author, dramatist, 272.
Murphy, William E., Indian agent, mayor of Leavenworth, Kansas, 206.
Museum (*Society's*), additions and visitors to, 401; value to historians, 408; 411; committees on, 419; Association of Museums, 402.
Muskingum County, Lutherans in, 392:
Messenger, account Indian Council, (1812), 299-304; account War (1812), 337:
River, 327, 378; Lutherans in Valley of, 385; first Protestant services on, 386; pioneer Germans on, 391.
Muter, George (Judge), Connolly presents British plans to, 68; 69.

N.

Nader, Alsatian family, 391.
Napoleon (town), German dropped in schools, 86; Louis, Emperor of France, 204; Napoleon Bonaparte, Alsatian soldiers of, 391.
Nasahacothe, Indian Chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Nasby, "Petroleum" V., humorist, 276.
Nashville, battle, Ohio at, 233; 245.
National Catholic War Council, 221, 223.
National Intelligencer, Col. Cass's letter in, 346; 352.
National Road, Worthington's interest in, 106, 107.
National Service Commission, 221.
National Soldiers' Home, 239.
Navy, U. S., during Civil War, 231; Ohio in, 408.
Naylor, Ohio author, 271, 272.
Neal, family of, 380.
Negroes, in Civil War, 231, 245; in Ohio, 270.
Neil House, (Columbus), Dickens guest at, 74.
Nelson (town), on Military Road, 367.
Nestor, Greek philosopher, 148.
Nevada, gained in Mexican War, 230.
Netherland, Benjamin (Maj.), opposes Kentucky Tories and Indians, 65.
New Bremen, German newspaper in, 89.
New Connecticut, 263.
New England, 9; anti-slavery sentiment, 23; Chase's longing for, 137; 139; 141, 143; Chase visits, 145; opposes Jackson's election to Presidency, 151; 158, 159; Ohio historians from, 180; profits by slavery, 207; Ohio

New England—Concluded.
pioneers from, 257; 258; Bradstreet's expedition from, 259; first Ohio teacher from, 261; disloyalty of (1812), 352.
New Hampshire, 11, 120, Dr. Thomas Whipple from, 146; 152.
New Jersey, 142, 145; early history of, 180; Ohio historians from, 180; 260; Ohio pioneers from, 263; 264.
New Lebanon, 175.
New Lexington, Lutherans at, 389.
New Lisbon, mail route through, 334; news-note from (1812), 353–354; 386.
Newman, John Henry, State Librarian and speaker at Ohio State Library Centennial, 97, 98, 109.
New Market (Va.), Lutheran print shop at, 385, 387.
New Mexico, John Greiner Governor of, 102.
New Orleans, 67, 68; Gen. Jackson at, 152.
New Philadelphia, Lutherans at, 387.
Newport (Ky.), arsenal at, 288; 332.
New Reading (Perry County town), first Ohio Lutheran church at, 362, 383, 388.
Newspapers, Dickens' opinion of American, 72; Congress compells loyalty, during World War, 84; collection in State Library, 99; collection of early, 102; early temperance, 103; oldest in Ohio, 265; first in Western Reserve, 286; collection of, on War activities, 408; Ohio, in foreign languages, 408: (German), attitude on World War, 82–95; war headlines in, 86; suspend publication, 93; World War effects, 93; boycotted, 94; 408: (Ohio);
Akron Germania, 89, 95.
Albany Evening Journal, 36.
American Friend, 370
Athens Mirror, 371.
Baltimore American, 294.
Baltimore Federal Republic, 294.
Centinel of N. W. Territory, 264.
Cincinnati Abend Presse, 83, 87, 89, 90, 93, 95.
Cincinnati Advertiser, 372.
Cincinnati America, 160.
Cincinnati Daily Chronicle, 72.
Cincinnati Daily Republican, 72.
Cincinnati Enquirer, 5, 276, 372.
Cincinnati Freie Presse, 88, 89, 93.
Cincinnati Gazette, 28. 72.
Cincinnati Signal, 103.
Newspapers—Continued.
Cincinnati Volksblatt, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95.
Cleveland Echo, 89.
Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95.
Cleveland Herald and Gazette, 280.
Cleveland Plain Dealer, 80, 81, 277.
Cleveland Press, 7.
Columbus Dispatch, 84.
Columbus Express und Westbote, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.
Columbus Gazette, 102.
Columbus Statesman, 276.
Crawford Messenger, 335.
Der Ohio Sontagsgast, 92, 93, 94.
Fatherland,
German Socialist Weekly, 83.
Gross Daytoner Zeitung, 86, 87. 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94.
Hamilton Deutsch Amerikaner, 93.
Independent Chronicle, 265, 346.
Josephinum Weekly, 215.
Kentucky Gazette, 69.
Lancaster Journal, 295.
Leavenworth Herald, (Kan.), 205.
Liberator, The, 40.
Literary Digest, founder of, 273.
London News, 266.
Lorain Post, 93.
Louisville Courier Journal, 372.
Louisville Journal, 284.
McConnelsville Herald, 202.
McConnelsville Enquirer, 202.
Marietta Intelligencer, 203.
Minster Post, 95.
Muskingum Messenger, 299, 337.
National Intelligencer, 132, 146, 346, 352.
New Hampshire Journal, 155.
New York Herald, 266.
New York Tribune, Greeley editor of, 36.
Ohio Eagle, 372.
Ohio Federalist, 266.
Ohio State Journal, 102, 265, 266.
Ohio Statesman, 74, 75, 372.
Ohio Volkszeitung, 93.
Pittsburg Mercury, 324, 362.
Potomac Guardian, 265.
Roarer, 103.
Sandusky Clarion, 79.
Sandusky Demokrat, 89.
Sandusky Mirror, 80.
Scioto Gazette, 265, 298, 328.
Siebenbuergisch Amerikanischer Bote, 95.

Newspapers—Concluded.
Siebenbuergisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt, 89.
Sociological Journal, 9.
St. Louis Anzeiger, 87.
Stern des Westlichen Ohio, 86, 89.
Steubenville Germania, 93.
Toledo Blade, 276.
Toledo Express, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94.
Trump of Fame, first in Western Reserve, 286.
United States Telegraph, 146.
Viereck's Weekly, 93.
Volksfreund und Arbeiterzeitung, 93.
We The People, 146.
Western Intelligencer, 265, 354.
Western Republican, 371.
Western Spy, 304.
Western Sun, quoted, 321.
Youngstown Rundschau, 93.
Zanesville Times,

New York City, 62, 66, 103, 108, 109, 140, 145, 154; Continental Congress meets in, 257; Cary Sisters lived in, 268; 273, 274; Library of, 275; Ohio Society of and A. M. Minor Griswold, resident of, 276; 416.

New York (State): 9; Republican Triumvirate of, 36; Tories in, 63; 75, 97, 153; early history of, 180; 263, 376, 298.

New Zealand, 186.

Ney, Marshall, 391.

Niagara River, in War (1812), 341.

Nile River, libraries on, 112.

Norfolk (Va.), Connolly visits Dunmore at, 51.

North American Review, 83

North Bend, 263; Harrison Memorial at, 398.

North Carolina, Constitutional Convention, 9.

Norton, village, Western Reserve, 252, 253.

North Pole, interest in discovery, 273, 274.

Northumberland County (Pa.), Ohio pioneers from, 376, 380.

Northwest Ohio Historical Society, 398.

Northwestern Army (1812), Hull commands, 309; surrenders, 316; mistake in selection of Hull, 320; memoranda of supplies, 361-362; Frank Linton headquarters, 364; news note, 367.

Northwest Territory, Burnett's notes, 178, 179; Hinsdale's history of, 182; first settlement, 186; Cutler's pamphlet describing, 187; 188, 204; population growth, 188, 189, 195, 201, 204; slavery in and founders of, 190; first laws, 190, 204; authority of law recognized, 193; slavery prevented, 194, 195; authority vested in governor of, 204; establishment of, 257; capital located at Marietta, 260, 261; first poet in, 267; first court house, 369; states in, to erect Campus Martius monument, 400.

Nye, Arius, presides at Marietta Celebration (1858) 202; Marietta homestead, 254.

Nye, Minerva T., Campus Martius purchased from, 254, 399, 401, 409, 412, 415.

O.

"Oakshaw," novel by Coggeshall, 104.

Oberlin, 251.

O'Fallon, John (Col.), address on siege Ft. Meigs, 280-285.

Ohio, part in freedom, 4; Chase governor of, 38; 51; Indians in Revolutionary War, 66; proposed colony in, 67; "Early State and Local History," 77; German-Language Press during War, 82-95; Germans arrested during War, 88; State Library Centennial, 96-114; 97; newspaper collection, 99; enacts laws against U. S. bank, 101; 102; Constitutional Convention and Taylor's history of, 103; admission of, 106; Chase removes to, and admitted to bar, 120, 159; 153; Ulrich mounds, 160; writers of history, 177; Howe's history of, 180; histories of, 180; post-war historiography of, 181; King's history of, 183; local histories of, 184; population growth, 195; second white child born in, 202; first church building in, 203; churches in, 208; religious census of, 209; languages used in churches, 210; local church federations, 211; German language eliminated from churches, 215; food administration, 217; church activity in military camps, 219; Episcopalian Church at Camp Sherman, 219, 220; estimate of church war work, 221; in Mexican War, 230; in Spanish War,

Ohio—Continued.
231; naval achievement in Civil War, 231; generals in Civil War, 232; soldiers enlisted in American wars, 233; in Civil War, 243; at Chickamauga battle, 244; soldiers lost in Civil War, 145–146; in Civil War and White House, 249; early temperance movements, 253; purchases Campus Martius, 254; Lafayette's opinion, 256; unique history, 256; climate, 257; character and vocation of founders, 259; races in, and pioneer settlements, 263; pioneer types, 264; journalism in, 264-267; oldest newspaper in, 265; slavery and negro education, 270; prose authors, 271; historians, 272; humorists, 275, 276; "Watershed Ridge" 278; in War (1812), 286–368; army of, (1812), 314; cyclone, 315-316; militia at Hull's surrender, 316; volunteers freed at Hull's surrender, 317, 319; militia (1812), 318, 320, 321, 322, 323; frontier protected (1812), 325; volunteers relieve Ft. Wayne, 327; Gov. Meigs' proclamation to citizens, 328; appeal to voters ((1812), 329; militia aid Hull, 330; military trails, 340; militia (1812), 341, 346; Gov. Meigs advances personal funds for soldiers, 330; volunteers at Detroit, 340, 349; sends provisions to Detroit, 351; troops in, (1812), 359, 360, 365; presidential campaign, (1812), 367; John Brough, Governor of Ohio, 371; Lutheranism in, 375; first roadway in, 375; Pennsylvania pioneers to, 377; Lutherans in, 379, 385; Henkel family, pioneer preachers, 385; first Protestant services, 386; secures Campus Martius, 379; Historical Commission, 407; navy in Civil War and foreign newspapers in, 408.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 98; Library of, 114; acquires Chase letters, 119; Publications of, 204; custodian Campus Martius, 254; annual meeting, 408; value to historians, 408; (See *Society*):
Battle Flags Committee report, 225–250; report to Governor, 227-238; number of, in Capitol, 229; regiments carrying, 234–238; belonging to artillery and miscellaneous banners, and Mexican War flags, etc., 237; Spanish–American War flags, 238; printing and distribution of Commission's report, 240; Governor Cox pays tribute, 246; Governor Harmon's tribute, 246-248; Foraker's tribute, 248-249; Gov. Herrick's tribute, 249-250.
Buckeye, 263; Centennial Code, 269, 279; Company, 203, 257; Contingent Flag, 237; Return J. Meigs, Governor of, 267; Historical Society, 178; Historical Commission, 208, 396, 401, 418.
Historical Commission, 208, 396, 401, 418; Historiography of, 176 185; Judicial Code revised, 103; literature and journalists, 264–267; poets and poetry of, 267–271 first poet in, 267; prose authors, 271-279; historians, 272-273; humorists, 275-277; novels and novelists, 273; Military Memoirs, 272-273; National Guard, 228; pamphlets, 103; "Religious Organizations and the War," 208–224.

Ohio River, Loyalist colony on, 48; Revolution on, 52, 53, 55; Loyalist lands on, 57; immigrants to Kentucky on, 58; 59; Bird's expedition 60; 64; Connolly traverses, 67; 68, 160; anniversary Marietta settlement, 167; 188; slavery north of, 191; 200, 204; scenes in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" located on, 270; 300; Military stores (1812) on, 328; Indians from (1812), 339; 365; danger to pioneers, 377.

Ohio School System, Taylor's history of, 103; New York Society of, Randall addresses, 255; 276; Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, 239; *State Journal*, 74, 75, 102, 265, 268. State Library, 7; Summer School of, 96; establishment, 96; D. J. Ryan's address at Centennial, 98-107; contents of, 99; first Librarian jailed, 101; progressive control, 102; first books and Coggeshall's service, and establishment of, 105; reminiscences of, 109; housing and extension of field, 110; re-organization and traveling department 111; Reference Department, 111; first books in and founding of, 112; volumes in, 113; needs of, 114.

Ohio School System—Concluded.
Statesman, newspaper, 74, 75; Brough editor of, 372.
Ohio State University, 82, 96, 97, represented at Ohio Library Centennial, 109; library at, 114; 119, 149, 408.
Supreme Court, 266.
Ohio Teachers' Association, 208.
Ohio University, library at, 114; toast to, 202; provisions for, 258; first graduate, 262; establishment and Gov. Brough student of, 371; 372, 375.
Ohio Valley, Hildreth's history of, 180; poets and poetry of, 268; beginnings of literary culture in, 268; pioneer Lutheranism in, 382.
Ohioana, collection of, in State Library, 103.
Ohioans, fraternal feeling among, 255; characteristics, 257; "Charter", 258.
Olcott, Charles, Dartmouth student, 127, 138, 142, 150.
Olentangy River, Mohawk Indians on, 52.
Omar, Caliph, 112.
Omique, Indian, executed at Cleveland, 296.
O'Neill, "Peggy," (Mrs.), connected with Eaton scandal, 156.
Ontario, (Can.), Bureau of Archives, 49, 50, 69.
"Ordinance 1787," importance, 187; principles of, 190; slavery clause, 191; establishes law, 193; effect on population, 195; toast to, 203; adoption of, 257; educational clause, 258.
Oregon River, 186.
Ottawa (Ottaways), Indians, neutrality treaty in Revolutionary War, 52; British partisans, 53, 341; scouts sent to, 259; at Massassinway Council, 304; in War (1812), 339.
Ottawa, town, Indian grave near, 403.
Owen, Robert, presents books to State Library, 100.
Overmeyer, family of, 379:
John George, Ohio pioneer, passport of and extract from diary, 377, 389. John Peter, Perry County pioneer, 376, 377; Lutheran service at home of, 380, 381, 390.
Oxford, town, library at, 114; Miami University at, 258.

P.

Pacific Ocean, 230.
"Pacificus," Giddings author of, 15.
Pacifists, 88.
Paine, George, Dartmouth student, 124, 125, 130, 131, 135, 138, 140.
Painesville, 298.
Palatinate, Germans from, in Perry County, 390.
Palestine, libraries in, 112.
Paley, ———, Author "Paley's Evidences," 124.
Palmer Springs, source Sandusky River, 278.
Palo Alto, battle, Ohio in, 230.
Pan-Germans, 92.
Paris, 189, 273; Treaty of, 189; Kentucky town, letters from (1812), 358-359.
Park, Clyde W., author "Strategic Retreat of the German Language Press," 83.
Parkersburg (W. Va.), 202.
Parkinson, family of, 380.
Parrett, George C., presents human face mask to *Society*, 403.
Parsons, Samuel Holdan, plans and organized Ohio Colony and Company, 67, 258.
Parton, ———, author "Life of Jefferson," 207.
Partridge, Captain, War (1812), 345.
Paul, Apostle, 101.
Payne, ———, member Kansas Territorial Legislature, 205; General, commands Kentucky troops (1812), 353.
Pennsylvania, 103, 204, 398, 353, 386; Dunmore violates authority of 49; early history of, 180; Tory help expected from, 50, 51; Giddings family in, 5; Lutheran pioneers from, 263, 376, 378, 379, 390; Ministerium (Lutheran) of, 382, 385, 387; in War (1812), 332, 257, 263; Shawnee Indians in, 375.
Percival, Prof. Milton, referred to, 149.
Perkins, General, in War (1812), 314, 319, 322, 326, 327, 360, 365; James H., pioneer historian, 177, 178, 182; Simon, addresses letter to Gov. Meigs, 333.
Perry County, Lutherans in, 375; first settler and Lutheran in, 375, 376. 378; first religious service, 379; first assemblage, 381; inter-marriage in, 381; zeal pioneer Lutherans, 382; first Lutheran congregation in and other congregations, 388, 389; pioneer Ger-

Perry County—Concluded.
mans, 391; anecdotal side of Lutheranism, 393; wolf hunt in, 393; character of Lutherans of, 394.
Perry Victory, 400.
Peter, Joanna and Robert, authors, 61.
Petersburg, 233; attack on, 245.
Pfeifer, Walter A., presents Rickenbacker collection to *Society*, 402.
Phi Beta Kappa Society, Chase member of, 132.
Philadelphia, 53, 66, 106, 112, 140, 145, 154, 155, 295; Dr. Connolly prisoner at, 62; Chase visits, 132; army supplies (1812) from, 361, 362; Association of Museums at, 402.
Philippine Islands, Ohio soldiers at, 232.
Phillips, Wendell, abolitionist, letter of, to Giddings, 23, 24–25; William, Kansas abolitionist, killed during slavery struggle, 192, 205, 206.
Piageha, Indian chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Piankashaw Indians, at Massassinway Council, 304.
Piatt, ———, in army (1812), 311; Don, Ohio journalist, 266; John J., Ohio author, 268–269; Sarah Morgan Bryan, Ohio settler, 268, 269.
Pickaway County, whites kill Indians in, 293; historical sites in, 406.
"Pickwick Papers," 80.
Piedmont Belt, Germans on, 390.
Pilgrims, in Ohio, 263.
Pinckney, author, "Atherton Gag Rule," 11.
Pioneers, Temperance and church building on Western Reserve, 251–253; relics of, 403; Ohio "Fathers," 186, 187; "History of Ohio Valley," Hildreth, 180; clergy, 203.
Pipe Creek, (Huron Co.), 291; Indians murder whites on, 286; Gen. Wadsworth's militia at, (1812), 321.
Pipes, effigy, 403.
Piqua, Shawnees at, 59; Indian Council at, (1812), 323; Worthington at, 324; citizens flock to (1812), 324; 331; Indian Treaty at, 337; Kentucky troops pass thru, 358.
Pitanage, Indian chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Pittsburg, treaty made with Ohio Indians at, 52; Tory activity in region, 58; 67, 295; transportation from, 328;
Pittsburgh—Concluded.
mail route to Detroit, 333; army supplies via, 361, 362; Military Road from, 365, 366.
Pittsburg Mercury, quoted, 324, 362.
Pluggy, "Capt.," Mohawk leader, 52.
Plumley, ———, Washington City teacher, 133.
Plutarch, quoted, 256, 268.
Poague, ———, commands troops (1812), 329.
Poetry —
"Rain on the Roof," 104; In Ohio State Library, 105; "Ohio," by J. J. Bliss, 115–117; Pope, 263; in Ohio Literature, 267; "Poets and Poetry of the West," — Coggeshall, 104, 105.
Point Pleasant (W. Va.), Ft. Randolph at, 54; Lutherans at, 386.
Poland (O.), on Military Road, 267.
Polar Star, Mississippi boat, 206.
Polish, Ohio newspapers in that language, 408.
Political Campaign "1840," 280.
Pomerene, Atlee (Senator), 398.
Pomeroy, 202.
Pontiac, 256.
Poole, General, 124, 126, 138, 148; Mrs., 127, 139, 141, 148; Wilhelmine, 126, 127, 138, 141, 148.
Poorman, family of, 380.
Pope, Alexander, on Lord Bacon, 275.
Pope, "Poems" of, 263.
Portage County, in War (1812), 296, 327, 333.
Port Clinton, 7; German dropped from schools, 88.
Port Erie (See Erie).
Porter, Amos, last survivor, Marietta founders, 188, 202, 203, 204; Martha, 138.
Portsmouth, 129; Tremper Mounds near, 162; city in New Hampshire, 126.
Postmaster General, Return J. Meigs, as, 267.
Potomac Guardian, Virginia newspaper, 265.
Pottawatomi Indians, 331, 332; at Massassinway Council, 304, 305, 307, 308; at Ft. Wayne, 334; join British, 341.
Powers, Avery, soldier killed, War (1812), 313.
Prentice, George D., noted editor, 372.
Presbyterians, interested in Transylvania Seminary, 70; in Ohio, 209; attempts at consolidation, 210; aid government in War, 221; 251.

Presidential Campaigns, "1840," 102.
Preston, Francis Folsom Cleveland, (See Cleveland).
Pretzel, origin of, 87.
Prevost, George (Sir), paroles Gen. Hull, 339.
Prince, Benjamin F., 396; on Ft. Ancient Committee, 404; *Society* trustee, 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Princeton, graduates from among Ohio founders, 259.
Proctor, British General, in War (1812), 281, 329, 341.
"Prophet," The, in War (1812), 293; Indians advised against, 300; 305, 306, 307.
Prose, authors in Ohio, 271.
Protestant Episcopal Church, 120; Chase member of, 130; Kenyon College established by, 132. (See Episcopalians.)
Protestants, in U. S., 209; in Ohio, 209; attempts to consolidate, 210; pacifist sentiment among churches, 213; activity at Camp Sherman, 221; War fund donations, 222; co-operate with government, 223; first services of, in Ohio, 386.
Providence (R. I.), 139.
Prussia, government defended, 85; electoral system, 92; Prussianism, 10.
Pugh, family of, 380; John J., Columbus Librarian, 98, 107, 109.
Punchard, George, Dartmouth student, 123, 125, 128, 138, 154, 160.
Puritans, in Ohio, 263.
Puthuff, ——— (Col.), in War (1812), 363.
Putnam, Rufus (Gen.), toast to, 203; constructs Campus Martius, 254; organizes Ohio Company, 258.

Q.

"Quadranori," Marietta earthwork, 260.
Quakers, in Ohio, 263, 375.
Quebec, 54, 67; U. S. regiment at (1812), 339.
Queen Charlotte, British gun-boat (1812), 341, 355.
"Queen City," name for Cincinnati, 270.
Queen's Rangers, Tory organization, 66.
Quilp, reference to, 72.
Quito, (Ecuador), Coggeshall dies at, 104, 105.

R

Rail-Road, Mad River, 77.
"Rain on the Roof," poem, 269.
Raisin River, 314, 319; Indian depredations on and elation over Hull's surrender, 322; Americans surrender cattle on, 336; 337; Ohio militia at, 342; reinforcements sent to, 342; McArthur and Cass at, 348; army provisions at, 351; settlement, 366; on Military Road, 367.
Ramsay, J. G. M., author "Annals of Tennessee, 53.
Ramsdale, ——, killed in War (1812), 333.
Ranck, G. W., 50.
Randolph, John, 9.
Randall, E. O., (Hon.), Ohio Supreme Court Reporter, 98; address, Ohio State Library Centennial, 107–109; editorials by, 118, 251–254; interest in purchase Campus Martius, 254; "High Lights in Ohio Literature," by, 255; 278, 286, 396; Annual Report to Society, 397; visits Campus Martius, 399; on Campus Martius Committee, 401; member Ohio Historical Commission, 407; 416; discusses "Life Membership of *Society,*" 417; elected Secretary of *Society,* 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419-420.
Rapids (Maumee), British and Indians at, 363. (See Maumee Rapids).
Rarey, John S., Ohio horse tamer, 273.
Rayan, William, (Col.), commands militia (1812), 318, 365.
Rayne, ——, inn-keeper on Military Road (1812), 125.
Reading (Vt.), Chase teacher at, 125, 126.
Reading, 128, 139; Township, Perry County, 375, 376, 378, 381, 389.
Red Cross, Ohio Germans support, 89; Ohio German press toward, 90; church activity in, 217; in *Society's* Building, 402; 407.
Red River (North), 186; expedition, 245.
Reed, C. I., presents war relics to *Society,* 402.
Reed, ——, inn-keeper on Military Road, (1812), 367.
Reed, ——, (Maj.), Dayton citizen entertains militia, 294.
Reed, Thomas Buchanan, Ohio author, 245, 269.
Reeder, C. Welles, 98.

Reeder, ——, (Kansas Governor), in slavery days, 205.
Reid, Whitelaw, Ohio journalist, 266.
Rees, ——, Kansan legislator, during slavery days, 205.
Reformed Church, build churches jointly with Lutherans, 388, 389.
Reilly, John, pioneer Cincinnati teacher, 261.
Reinhard, John (Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 387.
Religion, vital force in World War, 218; organizations of, 208.
Renegades, in British employ, 57.
Republican Triumvirate (N. Y.), 36.
Republican Party, newspapers for, 36; 103, 184, 256.
Revolutionary War, slavery previous to, 2; ideals of, 3; Giddings' father in, 7; in Virginia, 61; Loyalists during, 70; 86; influences Ohio settlements, 186; 232, 260, 261; Capt. Wheaton officer of, 362; Ohio settler-soldiers in, 263; newspaper in, 265; 376; Perry County pioneers in, 379.
Reynolds, Charles A., member Ohio Library Commission, 110.
Rheinhausen (Germany), 378.
Rhine River, 378; Alsatians on, 391.
Rhodes, James Ford, Ohio historian, 272.
Rice, William G., biographer Grover Cleveland, 118.
Richland County and Township, Fairfield Co., 278, 375.
Richmond (Va.), 61, 153.
Rickenbacker, Eddie, aviator, presents War collection to *Society*, 402.
Ridenour, family of, 380.
Riley, James Whitcomb, 272.
Ripley (Twp., Huron Co.), 251; pioneer temperance movement, 252.
Roads, in Ohio (1842), 75; development of, 272; Maumee, 333-334; Military (1812), 365-367.
Robertson, J. R., editor Filson Club Publications, 54, 263.
Robinson, ——, Dartmouth student, 124,
Rocky Mountains, 186,
Rocky River, on Military Road, 367.
Rogers, David (Col.), conflict with Girty, 59.
Roman Catholic Church, member in U. S., 208, 209; in Ohio, 209.
Rome, famous Library, 112.
Roof, J. S., 396; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Roof, Lucy, presents *Society* with pictures, 403.
Roosevelt, Theodore, "The Naval War of 1812," by, 85.
Root, ——, 31.
Rosenbloom, J., donates to *Society Museum*, 402.
Rosencranz, General, 243.
Ross County, Thomas Worthington represents, in Ohio Assembly, 107; 202; archaeological relics found in, 403.
Rotterdam, 378.
Roumania, German peace treaty with, 91; Ohio newspaper in language of, 408.
Rousculp, family of, 380.
Roxbury (N. H.), 122.
Royal Academy, Matthew Arnold addresses, 255.
Royalton (Vt.), Academy at, 122; 131.
Ruddell, Abraham, 358.
Ruddle, Isaac (Capt.), prisoner in Revolution, 60.
Ruddle Station, surrenders in Revolution, 60; 62.
Ruffin, William, reports the Massassinway Indian Council, 304.
Rumsey, Count, plans steam-boat, 203.
Rush Creek (Fairfield Co.), 380.
Rush, Richard, Secretary of Treasury, 143.
Rushsylvania, 249.
Russell, ——, Dartmouth student, 127.
Russell, A. P., Ohio prose writer, 271.
Russia, German success in, 85; German treaty with, 91; products of N. W. Territory compared with, 188, 204, 266; defends Bulgaria, 267.
Ryan, Daniel J. (Hon.), ex-Secretary of State, 97; address "State Library and its Founder," 98-107; 110, 113; Ohio historian, 272; member Harrison Memorial Committee, 398; elected *Society* trustee, 416; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419-420.

S.

Sabine, ——, author "American Loyalists During the Revolution," 70.
"Sage of White Hall," name applied to Cassius M. Clay, 33.
St. Clair, Arthur, Governor of Northwest Territory, opposes Ohio's admission to the Union, 106; locates Capital of Northwest Territory, 260; President Continental Congress, 257; suggests Ohio seal, 261.

St. Gwier, 378.
St.. John's, Perry County Lutheran church, 389, 390, 391, 392.
St. Lawrence, Gulf of, 279.
St. Louis, 59, 75, 77; slavery in, 196; 206; campaign (1840) in, 280; *Anzeiger*, attitude in World War, 87.
St. Marys, troops at (1812), 329, 360; headquarters Northwestern army, 331; Gen. Harrison's camp at, 338, 353; news letter from (1812), 358; provisions reach fort at, 359.
St. Paul (Minn.), 103.
St. Paul's, Cathedral, 149; Perry County Lutheran church named, 388, 389.
St. Vincent, French village, 50.
Salem (Mass.), 154, 187.
Saltlick (Tp., Perry Co.), 218.
Salvation Army, 218; war activities, 223.
Sandusky (city), Dickens visits and describes, 75, 77, 78, 79; 80, 81; German dropped in schools, 86; Portage County militia protects U. S. store at, 296; communication with (1812), 328; Western Reserve road through, 333; Maumee road at, 334; British troops at, 354; American troops at, 360; 365, 366; *Clarion, Mirror,* and *Demokrat*, 79, 80, 89.
Sandusky Bay, militia (1812) stationed at, 287; in War (1812), 326.
Sandusky County, Meek's history of, 77.
Sandusky (Lower), Dickens' error in and visits, 76, 77.
Sandusky, "Rapids," 365, 367; River, 278, 287, 296, 300; Saldiers' Home, 239; (Upper), Indians invited to join Tories, 52.
Sandwich (Can.), Hull's army at, 308; 314; letter from (1812), 319; Hull abandons, 330; British gun-boats at, 343; General Brock sends truce flag from, 348.
Santa Fe, (N. Mex.), 102.
Sauer, Christopher, Pennsylvania printer, 376.
Schaus, L. P., 396; reports to *Society* on Campus Martius, 399; member Campus Martius Committee, 401; *Society* Trustee, 416, 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419-420.
Schenck, Robert C. (Gen.), 243.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, article by, 119; Ohio historical writer, 272; chairman Ohio Historical Commission, 407, 408.
Schneider, ———, (Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 387.
Schrider, family of, 380.
Schronn, ——— (Rev.), pioneer Lutheran missionary, 380.
Schucker, J. W., biographer Salmon P. Chase, 134, 158.
Scioto, County, history of, 185; *Gazette*, newspaper quoted, 265, 295-296, 328; River, 120, 204, Shawnees on, 375, Lutheranism in Valley, 385, pioneer Germans, 391.
Schools, Governor Worthington supports, 107; parochial, pro-German sentiment, 214.
Scotch-Irish, in Ohio, 263.
Scotland, mentioned, 102.
Scott, Charles (Gen.), apprised of British-Tory plan in Kentucky, 68.
Scott, ——— (Col.), in War (1812), 293, 324, 329, 357, 358.
Scott, William Henry (Prof.), 396.
Scutush, Indian Chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
"Seasons," Thompson author of, 263.
Sebring, German dropped in schools, 86.
"Section 16," provision for, 258.
Seibert, W. H. (Prof.), 419.
Sells, J. H. (Mrs.), presents *Society* with human hair ornament, 403.
Semo, Chippeway Indian, accused of murder, 287.
Seneca County, "History of," 77.
Seneca, Indians, neutrality treaty with, in Revolution, 52; at Indian Council (1812), 354.
Serpent Mound, report of committee on, 404; improvements and visitors, 405; *Society's* Standing Committee on, 420; 409, 412, 413, 414, 415; (Warren County), 398, 405.
"Seven Days' Battle," 244.
Seven Pines, battle, Ohio at, 233.
Seward, William H., member Republican Triumvirate, 36.
Seymour, Horatio (Hon.), 133.
Shakespeare, William, first read in Ohio, 259; Ohio critic of, 272; "Baconian Theory," 275.
Shanato, Indian Chief, at Urbana Council, 299.
Shannon, ———, (Maj.), in War (1812), 365.
Sharon (N. H.), 127.
Shaw, Albert, Ohio journalist, 266.
Shaw, ——— (Col.), commands negro regiment, 245.
Shawnee, town, Lutheran church at, 389.

Shawnees, Indians, Tory emissary visits, 51; neutrality treaty with, 52; attitude in Revolution, 54; attack Boonesboro, 55, 56; hostages killed at Ft. Randolph, 55; Girty interpreter of, 58; Boone's expedition, 59, 62; in expedition against Clark, 64; 65, 284; in War (1812), 293; at Urbana Council, 296, 299, 302; at Massassinway Council, 304, 307; at Piqua Council, 323; at Indian Council (1812), 354; 375; Pickaway County villages of, 406.
Sheatsley, C. E. (Rev.), quoted, 387.
Shelby, Governor, General Harrison writes to, 326.
Shelbyville (Ky.), 63.
Shelden, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Shenandoah Valley, 200, 243; Ohio pioneer Lutheran missionaries from, 382; Henkel family from, 385; 386; Germans in, 390.
Sheridan, Phillip H., Lieutenant General, 238; 243; at Cedar Creek, 245; 249; "Ride," 269; 383; Memoirs of, 272.
Sherman, John, 249.
Sherman, W. J., 398; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Sherman, William T. (Gen.), 232; march to sea, 233; 243; Atlanta campaign, 245; 249; Memoirs of, 272.
Sherwood, Isaac (Gen.), 243.
Shetrone, H. C., 175, 396; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Shiloh, battle, 244.
Shurtleff, Roswell, Dartmouth professor, 129.
Sibley, W. G., one-time State Librarian, 97.
Siebenbuergisch Amerikanischer Bote, 95; *Volksblatt*, attitude on the World War, 89.
Siebert, Wilbur H., Ohio historical writer, author "Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands," by, 48-71; 49, 272, 419.
Simmons, M., 8.
Simms, ———, morals of slavery, on, 9.
Simons, Abraham, killed in War (1812), 333.
Simrall, ——— (Col.), commends Horse Regiment, (1812), 329.
Sioux War, 108.
Six Nations, Girty interpreter, 49; aid Tories, 63.
Skinner, ——— (Dr.), 127.
Skinner, William, Sheriff Washington County, 370.
Slade, William, Vermont Secretary of State, 138.
Slate; found in earthworks, 165, 166.
Slaughter, ———, expedition against Shawnees, 62.
Slavery, Horace Greeley quoted, 2; Giddings on, 8; arguments for, 9; Jefferson on, 11; political history of, 184; barred from N. W. Territory, 190, 191; influence on population, 195; Thomas Ewing on, 196; clause in Declaration of Independence, 197, 206; gradual emancipation suggested, 197; advocates threaten northern cities, 199; change of centers and instability in North, 200; songs of, 269; Ohio on, 270; John Brough on, 372.
Slavic, language used in churches, 210; Ohio newspapers in, 408.
Sloane, William M., Ohio historian, 272.
Smith, ———, Cassius M. Clay on, 33.
Smith, ———, Dartmouth student, 139, 141, 145, 146, 154, 158.
Smith, P. B., author, 129.
Smith, Sidney, mentioned, 276.
Smith, T. C. H., 203.
Smith, William Henry, historian, 184.
Smyth, John F. (Dr.), famous Tory emissary, escape and recapture, 51, 53.
Sneath, Richard, 77.
Snider, Van A., 396.
Snyder, Denton Jacques, Ohio author, 272.
Socialists, 88.
Society (See Archaeological and Historical Society), appropriations, 143, 415; annual meeting, 396; Publication committee, 397; reprints Quarterlies, 397; Secretary's annual report, 397; Historical Sites Committee reports, 399; Report Campus Martius Committee, 399; Report Curator and Librarian, 401; Museum and Library of, 401; Superintendent of Building, 401; Report Ft. Ancient Committee, 404; Report Serpent Mound Committee, 404; interest in Warren County Serpent Mound, 405; Report Logan Elm Park Committee, 406; co-operates with Ohio Historical Commission, 407; represented at Museums Association, 402; Report Civil War Historian, 408; Treasurer's Annual Report, 409-410; Auditor's Annual Report, 410-411; permanent fund of,

Society—Concluded.
410; Library and Museum of, 411; Trustees elected, 416; afternoon session annual meeting, 417; annual membership fee, and life memberships, 417; budget, Library and Trustees' meeting, 418; Finance Committee, Historical Sites Committee, and Committees for Library, Museum and Publications, 419; Standing Committees of, 419–420.
Sociological Journal, quoted, 9.
Solon, referred to, 256.
Somerset, Lutheran church at, 383, 384, 385, 388; Ohio Lutheranism organized at, 386; Rev. Charles Henkel buried at, 388; 391, 392; place in Ohio Lutheranism, 395.
South America, 105.
Southard, Samuel L., Secretary of Navy, 142.
South Carolina, nullification in, 9; 11, 141; threatens commerce of Mississippi, 199.
Spafford, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Spain, Alexander VI., cedes Ohio to, 256; overthrow proposed in Louisiana, 67.
Spanish-American War, Veterans' Camps invited to participate in Ohio Battle Flags ceremonies, 226, 227; Ohio's part in, 231–232; Ohio battle flags in, 238; soldiers of, 241; War Auxiliary, 228.
Sparhawk, Thomas, S. P. Chase corresponds with, 119, 121, 123–132, 132–157, 150, 152; Chase visits, 154; 156, 158.
Sparks, Jared B., historian, 182, 183.
Spearheads, found in earthworks, 163.
"Spectator," Addison, 263.
Spencer, Mary C., (Michigan State Librarian), 97.
Sperry, Elias, wounded in War (1812), 333.
Spiegel Grove, 409, 412; committee reports to *Society,* 416; *Society's* Standing Committee on, 420.
Spindler, C. E., Superintendent Society Building, 401.
Spiritualism, 104.
Split Log, Indian chief, with British (1812), 340; at Maumee Rapids, 361.
Sprague, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Springfield, German dropped in schools, 86, (Tp., Richland Co.), "Watershed" barn in, 278.
Springwells, near Detroit, 343; British land at, 348.
Sproat, Ebenezer, Sheriff Washington County, 370.
"Squatter Sovereignty," Ohio founders on, 187; Thomas Ewing on, 187, 204; 190; ironical reference to, 190; methods of, 191, 192; effects of, 192, 193; 205.
Staub, John, pioneer hotel keeper, 77.
Stauch, Johannes, Ohio pioneer Lutheran missionary, 382, 386, 387.
Stanley, Henry M., African explorer, 266.
Stanton, Edwin M., War Secretary, 249; incident of, Lincoln's Cabinet meeting, 278.
Stark County, 334.
"State Fencibles," flags of, 237.
State Librarian, original duties of, 100.
State Seal, origin and modification of, 261.
Steamboating, prophecy of, 203; 270.
Steck, John Michael (Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 387.
Steedman, ——— (Gen.), 243.
Steele, ———, local historian, 185.
Steele, Sir Richard, quoted, 148.
Stepp, Wyatt, soldier killed (1812), 357.
Stern des Westlichen Ohio, attitude World War, 86, 89.
Steubenville Germania, suspends publication, 93.
Stevenson, Burton Egbert, Ohio author, 273.
Stewart, Clyde, presents *Society,* specimen pioneer hair weaving, 403.
Stockton, John (Ensign), War (1812), 312.
Stone, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Stone, ——— (Rev.), 124.
Stone River, battle, Ohio at, 233; 244.
Storken, Anna Mary, 377; John, 377.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, author, 270.
Strawn, Jacob, Illinois cattle king, 393.
Stubbs Mill, Warren County, 405.
Stuber, D. E., (Lieut.), presents war relics to *Society,* 402.
Sturges, ———, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Sugar Creek, 403.
Summers, Thomas J., author "History of Marietta," 370.
Summit County, home, Delia S. Bacon, 275.

Sumner, Charles, 20; letter of, to Giddings, 45-46; tribute to Petroleum V. Nasby, 277.
"Sunset" Cox, Ohio humorist, 276.
Supreme Court, Return J. Meigs Judge of, 267.
Surgical Instruments, presented to *Society*, 402.
Sutton, ——— (Capt.), War (1812), 313.
Swanson, Governor (Va.), characterizes Ohioans, 263.
Swasy, ———, Dartmouth student, 123, 146.
Swedes, in Ohio, 263.
Swedesboro (N. J.), Chase visits, 132.
Swineheart, family of, 380.
Swiss, Perry County Lutheran pioneers, 379.
Swoyer, C. A., presents *Society* with relics, 403.
Symmes, ——— (Col.), addresses General Brock (1812), 346.
Symmes, John Cleves, Ohioan, originates theory "Concentric Spheres," 274.

T

Taglioni, reference to, 72.
Tallmadge, village, Western Reserve, 252; home of Delia S. Bacon, 275.
Tallmadge, Frank, 396; interest in Logan Elm and adjacent village sites, 406; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 420.
Tammany, mentioned, 257.
Tanner, Samuel B., wounded War 1812), 333.
Tarhe, Indian chief, 256; at Urbana Council, 299; Governor Meigs addresses, at Urbana Council, 300; answers the Governor, 310; 302, 303.
Tarlton, village, 386.
"Tattler," The, quotation from, 148.
Taunton, village, 139.
Taverns, 367, 370.
Taylor, ——, inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Taylor, Bayard, mentioned, 276.
Taylor, James W., one-time State Librarian, 102-108; U. S. Consul, (Winnipeg, Can.), 103; portrait of, 113; Ohio historian, 180.
Taylor, Zachariah (Gen.), 103; suggested for Presidency, 26; Tecumseh, 256; asks for body of General Harrison at siege of Ft. Meigs, 281; estimate of Harrison, 284; Indians advised
Taylor, Zachariah—Concluded.
against, 300; at Massassinway Council, 305, 306; plans War (1812), 321; joins British (1812), 340; Quarter Master at Detroit (1812), 345.
Telegraphs, 274.
Temperance, early, in Ohio, 103; Society of, in Western Reserve, 251-253.
Tennessee, 15; annals of, 53; 152, 245, 285.
Tennyson, Alfred, mentioned, 269.
"Tents of Grace," 386.
Terrell, ——, Perry County pioneer, 391.
Texas, 230.
Thackeray, William M., mentioned, 273.
Thames River, Tories granted lands on, 69; battle of, 285.
Thomas, B. B., presents photographs to *Society*, 403.
Thomas, Edith Matilda, Ohio author, 270, 271.
Thomas, George (Gen.), 243, 245, 249.
Thompson, Charles, Dartmouth student, 130, 141.
Thompson, presents *Society* with Indian relics, 403.
Thompson, W. O., member Martius Commission, 401.
Thorn (Twp., Perry Co.), 381, 389.
Thornville, 383, 387; Lutherans at, 388.
Thwaites, Reuben G., author, 49; "Revolution on Upper Ohio," 55, 62.
Tiffin (O.), Dickens visits, 77, 78.
Tiffin, Edward (Gov.), 106.
Timberlake, Mrs., connected with Jackson administration scandal, 155, 156.
Tippecanoe Battle, 281, 291, 300, 321.
Toledo, John Greiner dies in, 102; North West Ohio Historical Society organized at, 398; "Blade," "Petroleum V. Nasby" writes for, 276; "Express," attitude on World War, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94.
Tom's Run, earthworks on, 163.
Tories (See Loyalists), proprietors of Kentucky lands, 48-71; claims of, 50; leaders fail to reach Detroit, 53; accused of Cornstalk murder, 55; plot of, 57; migration to Kentucky, 58, 59; in expedition against Clark, 64; attack Kentuckians, 65; in Virginia and North Carolina, 66.
Torry, ———, Dartmouth student, 124, 127, 128, 140.
Toronto (Can.), 69.

Toulmin, Harry, elected President of Transylvania Seminary, 70.
"Transylvania," petitions Virginia against Indians, 53; Land Company, 49, 50, 51, 70; Seminary, 69, 70.
Traveling Library Department, 111.
Treadway, Francis W. (Hon.), elected *Society* Trustee, 416; reports on Spiegel Grove, 416; on *Society's* Membership Committee, 417; on *Society's* Standing Committee, 420.
Treitschke, ——, mentioned, 86.
Trenton (N. J.), 140.
Tremper Mound, 162.
Trimble, —— (Capt.), commands Ohio troops (1812), 359.
Trotter, —— (Capt.), commands Kentucky troops (1812), 358.
Trowbridge, J. T., 120, 121, 122, 125, 133; describes Chase's admission to bar, 158.
True, Joseph, interested in "Coon-skin" Library, 262.
Trumbull County, first newspaper in Western Reserve, 286; militia, War (1812), from, 297; 322; helped by Maumee Road, 333; Lutherans in, 387.
Trumbull, Miss ——, 127.
"Trump of Fame," extracts from, (1812), 287.
"Twenty-first," ("Gag Law"), 11.
Twin Creek, 163; earthworks on, 167.
"Two Horn," Church, Marietta, 203.
Tyler, Bennett (Rev.), President Dartmouth College, 123, 125, 145.
Tupper, Anselm (Gen.), first Ohio schoolmaster, 261; in War (1812), 353; at Defiance, 359; at Maumee Rapids, 363; reports to General Harrison on Maumee expedition, 363-364; 365.
Turk, army in Bulgaria, 266.
Turkey, 267; River named (1812), 341.
Turner, painter, 276.
Tuscarawas River, 327; Moravians on, 386.
Tuttle, J. H., *Society* employe, 401.

U.

"U-Boat" warfare, German newspaper attitude on, 93.
Ulrich, group of mounds explored, 162-175.
Ulrich, Hugh, 175.
Ulrich, Joseph, owner Ulrich mounds, 162; 175.
Ulry, Captain, in Ohio army (1812), 314.
"Uncle Tom's Cabin," Ohio scenes in, 270.
"Underground Railroad," 270.
Unitarians, Cincinnati church opposes "pacifist" sermons, 213.
United Brethren, in Ohio, 209.
United Spanish War Veterans, 239.
United States, "Grimshaw's History of," 141; population growth, 195; Senate, 196, 201, 204; instability of slavery, 200; religious census, 208; German language in churches of, 210; reaction of churches during War, 216; churches aid Food Administrator, 217, 218; churches in, develop along national lines, 221; territory gained by Mexican War, 230; land grant colleges, 258; Indians offer lands for release of captives, 287; army of, in War (1812), 291, 296; Indian Treaty guaranteed by, 301; North Western Army of, 309; orders British aliens to report (1812), 314-315; asked to arm militia, 319; rejects Dearborn armistice, 321; holds Indian council, 354; regular troops (1812), 361; projects Zane's Trace, 375; Lutheran pioneers to, 377; establishes censorship, 408.
United States Bank, establishes Ohio branches, 100; 157, 372.
United States Senate, Governor Thomas Worthington resigns from, 107; Return J. Meigs represents Ohio, 267.
United States Treasury, J. W. Taylor special agent of, 103.
University of Virginia, 266.
Upper Sandusky, Indians in Girty's expedition, 59.
Urbana, Indian Council at (1812), 295-296; 299; Governor Meigs at, 299-301, 330; Black Hoof's speech at, 302; army supplies at, 311; encampment War (1812), at, 312; McArthur's militia escape to, 317, 319; Meigs writes from, 324, 334-335; Kentucky volunteers at, 324; troops sent to Ft. Wayne, 327; military stores for, 328; militia at, 337; 366.
Utah, 230.

V.

Vallandigham, Clement L., candidate for governor, 373, 374.
Van Buren, Martin, Chase's opinion of, 157, 372.

Van Cleve, William, commands rifle company (1812), 294.
Vanderveer, General, 243
Van Horn, Ensign and Major (1812), 313, 334-335, 341.
Van Ness, Cornelius Peter, Governor of Vermont, 138.
Venable, Emerson, Ohio author, 268, 271.
Venable, William H., Ohio author, 268, 271.
Venezuela, relics from, presented to *Society*, 403.
Vera Cruz, battle, Ohio in, 230.
Vergennes, ——, French diplomat, 183.
Vermont, Dudley Chase, U. S. Senator from, 132; 138; 150.
Vermilion River, on Military Road, 367.
"Via Sacra," Marietta earthwork, 260.
Vicksburg, battle, Ohio at, 233; siege of, 244.
Viereck, George Sylvester, editor of German newspaper, 93.
Viereck's Weekly, attitude on World War, 93.
Vincennes (Ind.), Clark captures, 56: General Hamilton surrenders, 59; in War (1812), 293; Kentucky troops at, 329; condition (1812), 321.
Virginia, Constitutional Convention, 9; Tory invasion proposed, 51; Indian threats, Revolutionary War, 53; convention's petitions against Indians, 53; West Fincastle proposed, 54; General Hamilton, prisoner in, 59; 60; 61; law enacted concerning escheats and forfeitures, 61; establishes Louisville, 62; Loyalist escheated lands, 69; McKenzie serves in army of, 70; People from, in Ohio, 106, 257, 264; Howe's "History" of, 180; slavery in, 196, 197, 200, 207; toast to, Marietta Celebration, 203; Civil War battles in, 244, 245; 263; *Potomac Guardian* published in, 265; troops from, in War (1812), 332, 357, 361, 363; 385; Germans in, 390; Perry County pioneers from, 391, 392.
Volksfreund und Arbeiterzeitung, suspends publication, 93.
Voltaire, quoted, 250.

W.

Wabash River, 68, 284, 300; Massassinway Indian Council on, 304, 305; Indian towns attacked (1812), 329, 334, 339, 358.
Wade, Benjamin F. (U. S. Senator), home at Jefferson, 18; Major General, son of, 18.
Wadsworth, —— (Gen.), headquarters at Cleveland (1812), 319, 322, 327; orders militia to Huron County 321; 326, 360; (village) named for and temperance movement in churches, 352, 353.
Wakefield, Thomas G. (Rev.), at Ohio Battle Flags ceremonies, 229.
Wakitamiki, Indian town, 64; Tory rendezvous at, 65.
Walcutt, —— (Gen.), 244.
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Ohio Society banquet at, 255.
Walker, —— (Judge), (Cincinnati), 73, 74.
Walker, Thomas (Dr.), visits Ohio Indians during Revolution, 52.
Walker, William, 396.
Walk-in-the-Water, Indian chief, 340.
Wall, W. D., audits *Society's* books, 411.
Wallace, ——, Inn-keeper on Military Road, 367.
Wallace, Guy and Denver, custodians Serpent Mound Park, 404.
Walnut Creek, Pickaway County, citizens in militia (1812), 294.
Wampum, exchange at Urbana Council, 302, 303.
"Ward, Artemus," Ohio humorist, 277.
Ward, Durbin (Gen.), 243.
Ward, ——, Dartmouth student and friend to Chase, 124, 154.
Ward, —— (Esq.), Western Reserve pioneer, 253.
Ward, V. C., Jr. (Maj.), donates French gas masks to *Society*, 402.
Warden, Robert B., S. P. Chase's biographer, 120, 125, 135, 156, 161.
War Camp Community, religious activity, 219.
War Chest, Ohio Germans support, 89.
War Department, Cincinnati, churches report Ft. Thomas conditions, 219; outlines religious work at Camp Sherman, 220; communicates with Governor Meigs (1812), 332-333.
War Governors, 370;
War of 1812, Giddings in, 7; Worthington's opposition to, 107; 183, 232; Declaration of, 286; "First Army of Ohio" in, 289; President Madison's message to Congress on, 294; Congress acts, 295; volunteers called, 297; supplies for, 298; Urbana In-

War of 1812—Concluded.
dian Council, 299–304; Massassinway Indian Council, 304; Chillicothe patriotism, 311–313; Hull's surrender, 316, 324; Indian Council, 354; memoranda of army supplies, 361; Military Road, 365–367.
War (World), Ohio German Language Press in, 82-95.
Warren, city, first newspaper in Western Reserve, 286; 287; militia (1812), 297; mail express through (1812), 313; aliens attend court at, 314; on Military Road, 367.
Warren County, history of, 185; Serpent Mound in, 398, 405, 420.
War Savings Stamps, 95; churches aid in sale of, 217.
Warth, Robert, 202.
War-Time Commission, 220.
Washington County (Md.), 375.
Washington County (O.), early sheriffs of, 370; 371.
Washington County (Pa.), 386.
Washington (D. C.), Giddings in, 7; 23; 26, 97, 106, 119; S. P. Chase, teacher in, 132; political and social life, 134, 135; Chase's description of, 137; 139, 141; Chase at, 140; Chase writes from, 144, 146, 149, 152, 154, 156; 145, 155; 217; during Civil War, 277; 293, 295; mail express from (1812), 313; Col. Cass visits after Hull's surrender, 318; 321; Hull's report of surrender reaches, 338; Indian chiefs visit (1812), 339; 346; ordnance for Northwest army (1812), 361; 402, 408.
Washington, George, knowledge of Tory activity, 51; Col. Campbell writes about Tories, 58; letters to, about Kentucky Tories, 68; McKenzie serves under, 70; 73; Marshall's Life of, 140; Indian policy, 170; 230.
Waterloo, battle of, 391.
Waterman, ——, Dartmouth student, 141.
"Watershed Barn," 278-279.
Watson, Merrill, staff *Ohio State Journal*, 266.
Watts, Mary Stanberry, Ohio novelist, 273.
Wayne, General Anthony, 284; Chief Tarhe refers to, Urbana Council, 302; route to Ft. Defiance, 366; defeats Indians, 375.
Wayne County, 334.
Wayne Hotel (Sandusky), Dickens at, 79.
Waynesfield, German dropped in schools, 86.
Wea Indians, at Massassinway Council, 304.
Webb, Thomas D., editor first Western Reserve newspaper, 286.
Webster, Daniel, 9; Wilson's feeling toward, 26; 135; quoted concerning Cincinnati, 160; 187, 266, 372.
Webster, Emeline, niece Daniel Webster, 138; Chase defends, 139, 141, 142;
Westfall, —— (Capt.), in War (1812),
Westenhaven, mound explored, 162.
marriage of, 145, 150.
Weed, Thurlow, editor Albany *Evening Journal*, 36; letter to Giddings, 36, 37; 40.
Weimer, Jacob, Perry County Lutheran pastor 389.
Weisman, William Allen (Rev.), Perry County Lutheran pastor, 389, 392.
Wells, William (Capt.), reports Massassinway Indian Council, 304; 308; Indians murder (1812), 323.
Wells, —— (Col.), takes militia to Ft. Wayne, 324; commands troops (1812), 327, 329; destroys Indian towns, 331, 332; 358.
Werners, Jacob, and Susanna, 377.
West Augusta, proposed Virginia County in Pennsylvania, 49.
West, A. C., presents effigy pipe to *Society*, 403; life member *Society*, 409. 295.
West, William T., tells Dickens' banquet story, 79.
West Minister (London), 80.
Westmoreland County (Pa.), 50.
Western Intelligencer, 365; news note from, 354-355.
Western Library Association, established, 262.
Western Republican, Brough editor of, 372.
Western Reserve, Giddings represents, in Congress, 11; 14, 18, pioneer temperance movement, and church building in, 251-253; 263; first newspaper in, 286; Maumee road to, 333.
Western Spy, reports Massassinway Indian Council, 304.
Weston (Mo.), 205.

West Virginia, archives and history of, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 62, 67; Coggeshall serves in Civil War in, 104.
Wetherill, ——— (Maj.), War (1812), 338.
Weygandt, ——— (Rev.), at organization Ohio Lutheranism, 386.
Wharton, ———, author, 183.
Wheaton, Joseph (Capt.), Quartermaster (1812), 362.
Wheeler, Henry G., author "Biographical History of Congress," 13, 16.
Wheeling (W. Va.), Ft. Henry at, 66; Zane's Trace at, 375; 377.
Whig Party, 26; on slavery, 29; 31; newspapers for, 36; accused of British sympathy, 81; 102, 135.
Whipple, Thomas (Dr.), New Hampshire Congressman, 146.
White, George (Hon.), on Campus Martius Commission, 400.
White House, Cabinet incident, related, 278.
Whitmore, family of, 379, 380.
Whitmore, Peter, Perry County Lutheran pioneer, 377, 379.
Whittlesey, Elisha, Ohio Congressman, 12.
Winabago, at Massassinway Council, 304, 307.
Winamack, Indian Chief, with British, 368.
Winchester, ——— (Gen.), reinforces Hull at Detroit, 313; commands Pennsylvania troops (1812), 332; moves troops to Ft. Defiance, 353, 358, 359, 360, 363; army leaves Ft. Wayne, 356.
Windsor, (Vt.), 120, 127.
Winnipeg, (Can.), J. W. Taylor dies in, 103.
Winthrop Place, Boston, 158.
Wilcock, ——— (Col.), commands troops (1812), 329.
Wilderness, The, battle, Ohio at, 233, 245.
Wilkins, W. Glyde, author, "Charles Dickens in America," 72.
Wilkinson, James (Gen.), advises Connolly to escape from Kentucky, 68.
Willey, George W., Cleveland mayor, 80.
Williams, ——— (Mrs.), connected with Eaton scandal, 156.
William and Marys College, 10.
Willis, Frank B., Governor, transmits Ohio Battle Flag Report to legislature, 226, 227; report Ohio Battle Flag Commission, 227–238; address ceremonies Ohio Battle Flags, 229;
Willis, Frank B.—Concluded.
appoints Ohio Battle Flag Commission, 238; 239; address Ohio Battle Flag Day, 240–241.
Willis, Nathaniel P., editor *Scioto Gazette*, 265.
Wilmington, 403.
Wilmot Proviso, defeat of, 26; political issue, 31.
Wilson, Henry, 20; Giddings' co-worker, 26; letter to Giddings, 27–28.
Wilson, Woodrow (President), quoted, 85; Ohio German press skeptical of, 90; distinguishes between Germans and their government, 91; war appeal to churches, 211; outlines church activity plans, during War, 221.
Wirt, Elizabeth (Miss), daughter William Wirt, 142, 144.
Wirt, ——— (Mrs.), wife William Wirt, 146.
Wirt, William, noted lawyer, S. P. Chase studies law under, 34, 146; slaves in home of, 135; 142; Chase instructs family of, 143; family of, 149, 151, 153, 154.
Wisconsin, 97, 403.
Wither, ———, *Chronicles of Border War fare*, by 55, 57, 59, 60, 63.
Wittke, Carl (Prof.), "Ohio-German Language Press and the War," 82; edits Ohio German newspapers for Historical Commission, 408.
Wohllebes, Alsatian family, 391.
Wolfe, Alsatian family, 391.
"Wolf hunts," pioneer, 393.
Wolverton, Charles (Maj.), writes General Munger, War (1812), 295.
Woman's Relief Corps, 228.
Wood, Edwin F., *Society* Treasurer, 396, 401; annual report of, 409–410; 415; elected *Society* Treasurer, 417, 418; discusses *Society's* finances, 419; on Society's Standing Committees, 419–420.
Wood, George, Dartmouth student, 124.
Woodbridge, G. M., at Marietta Celebration, 203.
Woodbridge, William (Hon.), 203.
Woodford, (Ky.), 357.
Woods, James (Capt.), mission to Ohio Indians, 52.
Woodstock (N. H.), 126, 127.
Woodward, Augustus B., U. S. Judge, Secretary to British Governor, 329.

Woodward, ———, Dartmouth student, 124.
Woodward, Harriet, 127.
Woodward, ——— (Mrs.), 124.
Indians, 52.
Wooster, German dropped in schools, 86; Maumee road through, 334; encampment (1812), 357.
Worcester (Mass.), 23, 67.
World War (See War, World), Ohio German newspaper press on, 92, 93; Ohio churches in, 208-224; 211, 212.
Worms, (Germany), 378.
Worthington, Ohio village, 120, 130; early newspaper in, 265.
Worthington, Thomas (Gov.), founds State Library, 96, 105; 100, 112; sketch and public services of, 105-107; aids Ohio's admission to Union, 106; in U. S. Senate, 106; progressive policy of, 107; in War (1812), 324; orders troops to Ft. Wayne, 324; Commissioner to Indian Council, 355.
Wren, Sir Christopher, famous architect, 138, 149.
Wright, George Frederick, congratulates *Society*, 396; reports for Historical Sites Committee, 398; interest in Warren County Serpent Mound, 405; *Society* trustee, 418; on *Society's* Standing Committees, 419.
Wyandot Indians, neutrality treaty with, in Revolution, 52; receive British gifts, 53; in Girty-Kentucky expedition, 59; treaty with and removal of, 77; 284; at Urbana Council, 295; 299; 302; 300; at Massassinway Council, 304, 305; at Piqua Council, 323; join British, 341; at Indian Council (1812), 354; 364.
Wyer, J. I., director New York State Library, 97.
Wyoming Valley, 5.
Wythe, ———, Virginian, opposes slavery, 207.

X

Xenia, cyclone (1812), near, 315.

Y.

Yale University, graduates from, among Ohio founders, 259; furnishes Ohio's first poet, 267.
"Yankee Doodle," 331.
Yankees, 257.
Yellow Springs, 404.
York (Can.), 338.
Yorktown (Va.), 15, 66, 257.
Young Women's Christian Association, War activities, 223.
Young, Thomas L., Governor, 243.
Youngstown, German dropped from schools, 86; German press in, 95; on Military Road (1812), 367; foreign newspapers in, 408.
Youngstown Rundschau, suspends publication, 93.
Yung, George (Rev.), Perry County Lutheran pastor, 389.

Z.

Zane, Ebenezer, commandant Ft. Henry, 375.
Zanesfield, Indian town at, 64.
Zane's Trace, construction of, 375, 377, 379, 386.
Zanesville, 203; activities War (1812), 293; news-note from (1812), 334; 403.
Zanesville Times, John Greiner, editor of, 102.
Zartman, family of, 380.
Zeisberger, David, Moravian missionary, 386.
Zimmerman, Homer, presents pioneer relics to *Society*, 403.
Zion, name Perry County Lutheran Church, 383, 388, 389.
Zionists (See Judaism).